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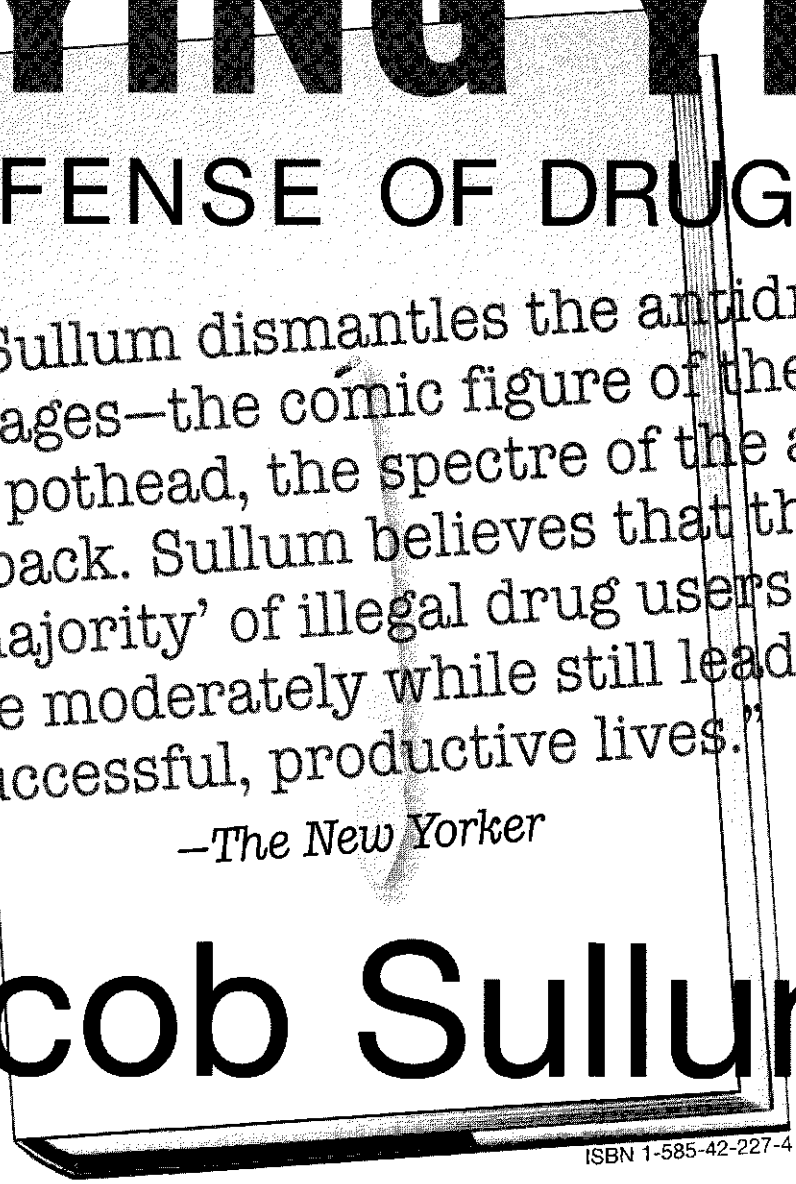

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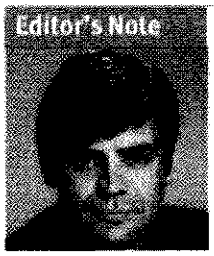

Ozymandias Redux

I'M WRITING THIS as U.S.—excuse me, *coalition*—troops are rolling into Baghdad virtually unopposed. As statues of Saddam Hussein are pulled to the ground all over Iraq, it's tough not to think of Shelley's "Ozymandias of Egypt," in which a "traveller" recounts stumbling across a half-buried monument to a long-forgotten tyrant:

> *And on the pedestal these words appear:*
> *"My name is Ozymandias, king of kings:*
> *Look on my works, ye mighty, and despair!"*
> *Nothing beside remains: round the decay*
> *Of that colossal wreck, boundless and bare,*
> *The lone and level sands stretch far away.*

As of press time, it's clear that it's a new day in Iraq, one in which Saddam and his Ba'athist party will play no role. Yet many important questions remain: Is Saddam dead or alive? Will we ever find the "weapons of mass destruction" whose existence was used to justify the invasion? Will the Iraqi people—and those in neighboring countries—view occupying troops as liberators or the latest set of oppressors? Who exactly will be running Iraq? What effect will any of this have on Al Qaeda and other terrorists?

For Americans, no question is more pressing than the one we ask in our cover story, "What Next for U.S. Foreign Policy?" (page 22). Regardless of how you felt about war with Iraq (I was opposed), an unclear and dangerous geopolitical future awaits us all. "The invasion of Iraq has answered some...questions but raised still more, as analysts debate whether such wars will undermine the stability of the Middle East, whether that status quo is worth preserving in the first place, and how seriously to take the president's talk of making Iraq a beacon of liberty and democracy," writes Associate Editor Jesse Walker. In interviews with a hawk (Ralph Peters), a realist (Benjamin Schwarz), and a dove (Gene Sharp), we present very different visions of how the U.S. should proceed in a post-Iraq world order.

Contributing Editor Michael McMenamin's essay on Teddy Roosevelt's foreign policy also speaks to the "What next?" question ("Teddy Roosevelt's Hidden Legacy," page 56). In reviewing Warren Zimmermann's *First Great Triumph*, McMenamin argues that unlike Woodrow Wilson, Roosevelt practiced a generally wise and restrained foreign policy while occupying the White House. Given that, writes McMenamin, it's good news that George W. Bush and his top adviser Karl Rove "regard Roosevelt as a hero. We can only hope that they recognize the genuine foreign policy differences between Roosevelt and Wilson—and that they remember what happened after the messianic Wilson mounted his white horse and charged off to make the world safe for democracy."

A great deal may be riding on that recognition, including whether the United States will someday face its own Ozymandias moment on the lone and level sands of the Middle East and elsewhere.

Nick Gillespie

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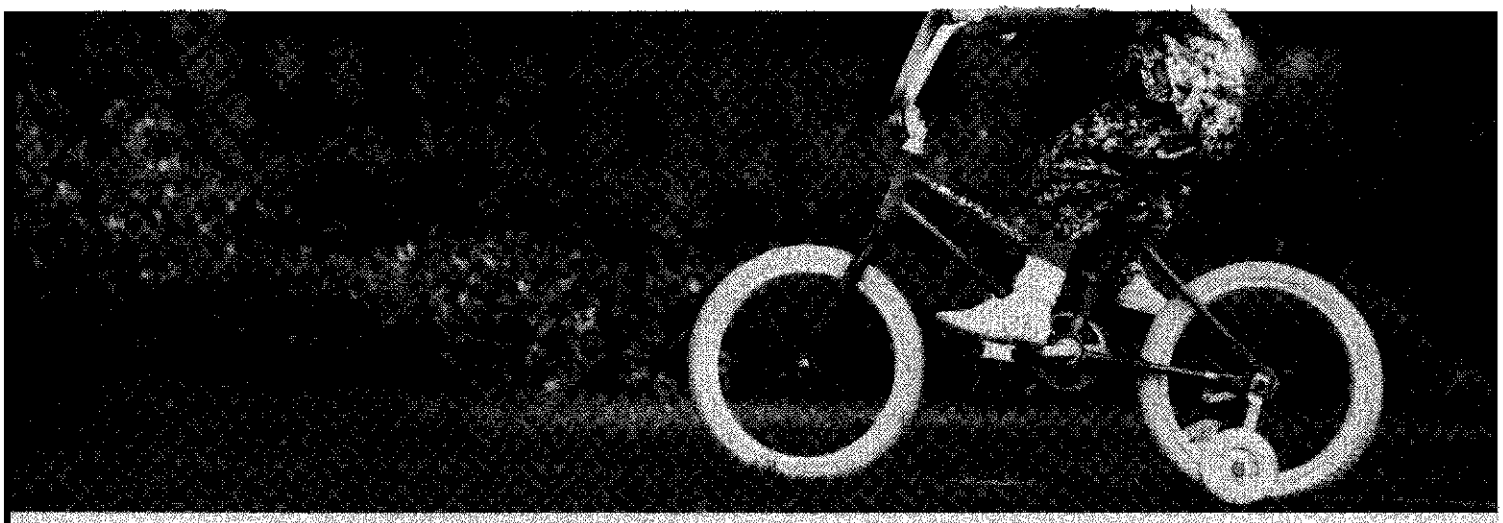

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Editor-in-Chief Nick Gillespie (gillespie@reason.com)

Senior Editors
Charles Paul Freund (cpf@reason.com)
Jacob Sullum (jsullum@reason.com)

Associate Editors
Brian Doherty (bdoherty@reason.com)
Jesse Walker (jwalker@reason.com)

Assistant Editor Sara Rimensnyder (sarar@reason.com)

Science Correspondent Ronald Bailey (rbailey@reason.com)

Editorial Assistant Mary Toledo (mtoledo@reason.org)

Art Director Barb Burch (bburch@reason.com)

Photo Researcher Julie Wolf

Web Editor Tim Cavanaugh (tcavanaugh@reason.com)

Webmaster Brian J. Taylor

Reason Express Writer Jeff A. Taylor (jtaylor@reason.com)

Contributing Editors
Peter Bagge, Gregory Benford, James V. DeLong, Glenn Garvin, Mike Godwin, David R. Henderson, Alan Charles Kors, Brink Lindsey, Carolyn Lochhead, Loren E. Lomasky, Mike Lynch, John McClaughry, Deirdre N. McCloskey, Michael McMenamin, Charles Oliver, Walter Olson, John J. Pitney Jr., Thomas Szasz, Cathy Young, Michael Young

Publisher Mike Alissi (malissi@reason.com)

Associate Publisher Michael Orendy (michaelo@reason.com)

Legal Adviser Don Erik Franzen

Editorial and Production Offices
3415 S. Sepulveda Blvd., Suite 400
Los Angeles, CA 90034-6064
Tel: 310-391-2245 Fax: 310-391-4395

Advertising Sales
Michael Orendy
3415 S. Sepulveda Blvd., Suite 400
Los Angeles, CA 90034-6064
Tel: 310-391-2245 Fax: 310-391-4395
(ads@reason.com)

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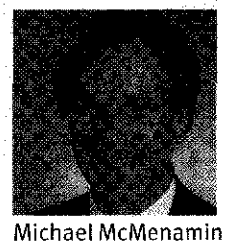

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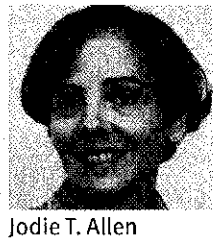

Jodie T. Allen

"You can't save people from themselves," comments cartoonist and contributing editor PETER BAGGE. He often says as much in his jittery comic commentary, a **reason** staple since June 2001. (His latest, "In Praise of Meaningless Crap," is on page 21.) A New York transplant to Seattle, Bagge is most famous for his wildly popular comic book *Hate*. His new project, *Sweatshops* (DC Comics), is a fictional story about cartoonists. "It's about an egomaniac who does a really bad comic strip, a cross between *Garfield* and *Dilbert* but not as good as either," says Bagge. "And he has a staff of young artists who do all the work." The first issue, drawn by Bagge and a staff of young artists, hit stores in April.

Longtime **reason** Contributing Editor MICHAEL MCMENAMIN offers an unexpected model of military restraint in "Teddy Roosevelt's Hidden Legacy" (page 56). As to whether our current president will follow that model, McMenamin remains agnostic: "A lot will depend upon what happens post Iraq." McMenamin, a media defense and employment lawyer in Cleveland, is editing a collection of correspondence between Winston Churchill and his first political mentor, Bourke Cockran, an Irish-American free trade advocate. A contributor to *Finest Hour*, the quarterly journal of the Churchill Centre in Washington, D.C., McMenamin is also the co-author of *Milking the Public: Political Scandals of the Dairy Lobby from LBJ to Jimmy Carter* (1980), which started out as a 1975 **reason** cover story.

God is in peak demand during wartime, notes Jodie T. Allen in "God Only Knows" (page 57). Allen is accustomed to a more terrestrial beat as managing editor at *U.S. News & World Report*, where she also writes a column called "Funny Money." Previously, Allen was the Washington bureau chief of the Web magazine *Slate* and the editor of *Outlook*, the Sunday commentary section of *The Washington Post*, where she started as an editorialist. She lives in Washington, D.C.

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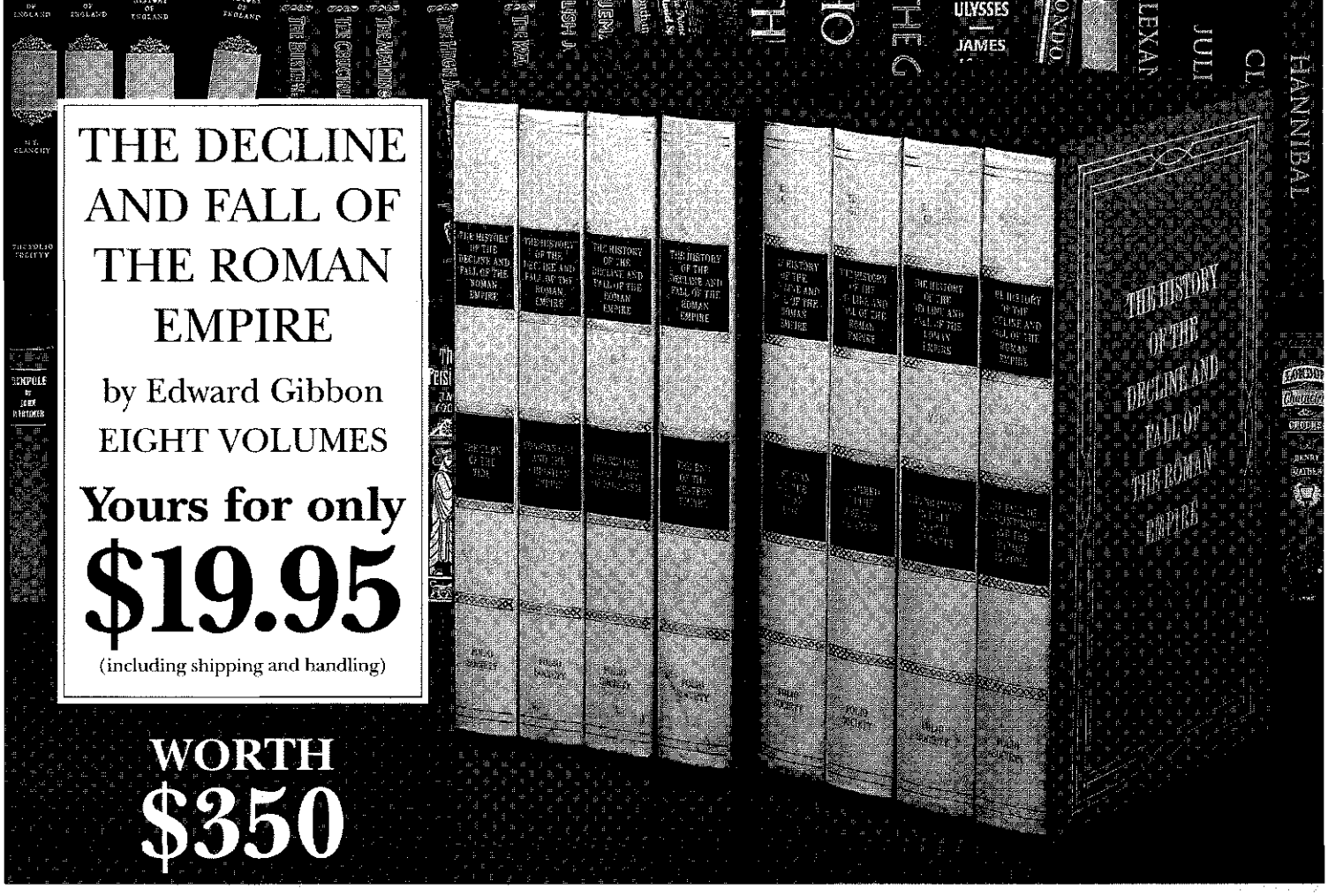

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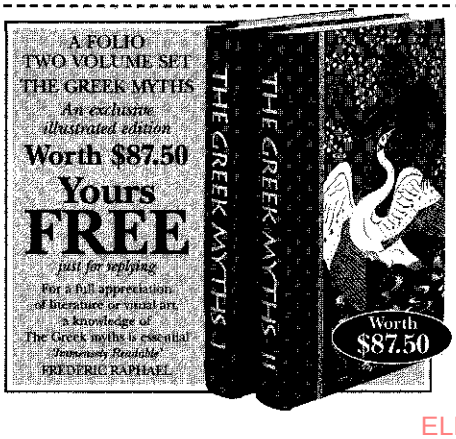
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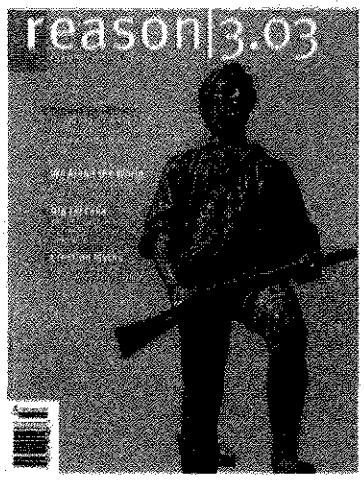

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Los Angeles, CA 90034
fax: (310) 390-8986
letters@reason.com

Gun History Disarmed

Thanks to Joyce Lee Malcolm for her well-written and well-presented piece on Michael Bellesiles' *Arming America* ("Disarming History," March). I've read a few other articles and criticisms of the issue, but Malcolm's was the most complete and understandable. It's amazing to me, a nonacademic, how easily some folks are deluded by a "scholarly" book because it supports their position. It appears that's what happened here, and Bellesiles should be ashamed of himself for attempting to delude the public.

W. B. Clark
Evansville, IN

As a Columbia grad, I have wondered why none of the articles that I have read on Bellesiles mentions the names of the Bancroft Prize jurists. It seems to me they should be held accountable or at least be cited for their foolishness.

I am no historian, but I have also wondered why probate records, particularly those from cities, would be considered essential evidence of gun ownership. I grew up during the 1950s and '60s in the poor, rural South, where every house contained a gun or several and where a will was as rare as a diamond. Guns were frequently handed on to children as parents aged. People died and property was divided by children, without the use of wills or the involvement of government in any form. I cannot imagine that there was better record keeping regarding gun ownership in the 18th or 19th centuries.

Bill McLane
San Diego, CA

Malcolm quotes Haverford College historian Roger Lane, a gun control supporter who gave *Arming America* a laudatory review: "I'm mad at the guy. He suckered me. It's entirely clear to me that he's made up a lot of these records. He's betrayed us. He's betrayed the cause."

The cause? Would that cause be maintaining the integrity of historical research—or the political effort toward more gun control? One really would think that in the wake of this mess historians would be more circumspect about making such comments. If Lane is known as a gun control activist, it also raises a question about why he was selected to review the book.

Second, I wanted to point out that the book is now being sold as a remainder, complete with its "Bancroft Prize Winner" banner and no indication of any problems with its contents. At $9.98, it will likely now get wider distribution than if it had been allowed to languish at the original price.

Byron Matthews
Sandia Park, NM

Creation Myths

Douglas Clement's "Creation Myths" (March) provides an interesting presentation of the economic debate surrounding economists Michele Boldrin and David K. Levine's call for reduced intellectual property rights. Their argument, as I understand it, is that we somehow will create more innovation and progress by reducing or restricting the individual ownership and associated individual economic rewards of innovation and progress.

As a noneconomist, I'd thought we'd learned via the collectivist failures of the 20th century that reducing or limiting the right of individuals to hold, retain, and benefit from private property (whatever its nature) is a prescription that inevitably impoverishes us all. Economic rationale and theory aside, what Boldrin and Levine advocate is the use of state power to take property from its rightful owners.

In economics lingo, the govern-

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ment is giving creators a "monopoly" over a work by registering a patent or copyright. But to this layman, there is no real-world comparison between a patent or copyright to a very specific invention or creative work and a genuine governmentally granted or sanctioned "monopoly," such as AT&T prior to its breakup, the U.S. Postal Service, or the government-controlled air traffic control system.

Government-issued patents or copyrights affecting recordings, software, or drugs simply establish the property rights of the owners in the same manner as government-recorded deeds on real property or government-issued titles on motor vehicles. These governmental acts do not "grant economic monopolies." Instead they provide a (relatively) efficient means for property owners to assure that the economic (and other) rights inherent in their ownership of specific property are protected under the law.

The Founders were perceptive enough to grant Congress, among a limited number of powers, the ability to protect the property rights of authors and inventors. Intellectual property is a wonderfully abstract concept, but it's still property, pure and simple. Property belongs to the rightful owner, to lawfully use as he or she sees fit.

Richard T. Mikus
Newark, DE

As a former CD store owner I found Boldrin and Levine's ideas very interesting. I think that the way the music industry operates is inefficient at best and that there has to be a better way. File sharing is not going to go away.

I do have a problem with their solution for how to pay writers. If it were easy to predict which songs will generate the most future earnings, the music industry would be a lot better off now. A lot of money is spent developing and marketing acts that go nowhere, and many hits come from completely unexpected sources. So it would be impossible to set a fair market value of a song before the market has a chance to listen to it. Many times it takes months for a song to catch on.

What if I get paid $1,000 for a song that ultimately goes multi-platinum, and then I am never able to repeat that success (a one-hit wonder), whereas Britney gets paid $600,000 for a song that tanks. Does that seem fair? This would place even more power in the hands of music executives. The only way to rectify this would be to ensure somehow that artists/writers get at least a portion of all future sales or use of their work. The "somehow" is the difficult point.

Kirk Miller
Weed, CA

I am somewhat dismayed by the debate chronicled in "Creation Myths." It gives the field of economics an importance that it does not deserve. Like most other social sciences, many schools of economics have fallen into the trap of using unrealistically narrow research and artificially constrained assumptions to generate publishable material.

Paul Romer, for example, in his distinction between rivalrous and nonrivalrous goods, completely ignores the real and well-known additional costs—over and above the production costs—incurred by anyone seeking to capitalize on an invention. For example, the cost to produce a copy of software is negligible. But the software is not what customers buy; we buy the support behind it and many other extended attributes of the good over and above the good itself (as any competent marketer knows). Supplying these extras means very real and extensive costs that the seller must bear. Romer likewise ignores the transaction costs associated with any economic exchange. Thus his distinction is both naive and completely unrealistic—yet it is treated as some kind of breakthrough.

Likewise, Romer's objection to Boldrin and Levine's thesis, in which he points out that their proposed first-sale rights would be an empty promise, is entirely correct and is certainly a fatal flaw in their work—one that was completely and immediately obvious to me (a noneconomist) early on in the article. Why then spill any more ink to pursue their fatally flawed "model"?

Economics is not a science in the same way that physics is a science. Economics, rather, is applied science, in the same way that electrical engineering is applied physics but not physics itself. Science is held to the standard of truth, while engineering is held to the standard of relevance and usefulness. The mental masturbation of many modern economists and other social "scientists" fails both tests.

More important, the entire debate is about the wrong subject. The article discussed whether or not inventions should be protected. Instead, the debate should be about whether or not that protection should ever be revoked! Libertarians stand for nothing if not for property rights. Likewise they stand for the belief that the fruits of one's labor belong to one...period!

Ralph Mroz
Greenfield, MA

Correction
In Jeremy Lott's "Jesus Sells," (February), book publisher Luci Shaw's name was misspelled. Also, the owner of the Christian publishing house Zondervan was misidentified. It is HarperCollins.

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I was glad to read about Michele Boldrin and David K. Levine's work on an economic model without the distortion of copyrights and patents. I find it unfortunate that one method successful in the past at providing a substantial financial incentive for invention and technological application has virtually disappeared: the prize.

In 1714 the British Board of Longitude offered the very substantial sum of £20,000 to the individual who devised a way to determine longitude accurately. Result: John Harrison produced the first marine chronometer. His enormous improvement in timekeeping had very wide-ranging benefits.

In 1908 Lord Northcliffe's *Daily Mail* newspaper offered a £1,000 prize to the first pilot to fly an airplane across the English Channel. In 1909 Louis Blériot claimed that prize. The improvements in aviation and engine technology that were the direct result of the *Daily Mail* competition were highly beneficial to all early aviators and aircraft makers, and not coincidentally to newspapers.

In 1959 British engineer and industrialist Henry Kremer funded a £50,000 prize for the first human-powered aircraft to fly a half-mile figure-eight course. In 1977 Paul MacReady and Peter Lissaman, engineers, and Brian Allen, cyclist/pilot, successfully claimed the prize. Less than three years later, MacReady and Allen won a second, larger Kremer prize for the first human-powered flight across the English Channel. MacReady's company AeroVironment has used some of the innovations from these two extremely light-weight aircraft in a surprising variety of high-tech products that also happen to be very cost-effective and environmentally friendly.

Alas, this system seems to have metamorphosed into government grants and contracts (Kafka reference intended).

George Alan Esworthy
Apex, NC

I appreciated that Douglas Clement presented arguments both for and against patent protection. It was a wake-up call to me and surely to many. As a patent author myself, I've had to do painstaking research into the U.S. patent office database and can attest to the following: Somewhere between 90 percent and 99 percent of existing U.S. patents are totally useless, either because the invention does not work or has no useful purpose, or because the patent grantees do not have the resources to defend it in court. Try fighting a patent infringement for less than $10 million.

John Cossar
Calgary, Alberta

Liking the Long, Strange Trip

I am a fairly longtime Deadhead (since 1975), and I have to say that Brian Doherty's "Come Hear Uncle Sam's Band" (March) was one of the best mainstream explanations of the Grateful Dead that I have ever read.

The ways in which Doherty identifies the Dead as uniquely American were exactly right. Finding their roots in the Beats is critical, as is realizing that their fierce independence and almost crackpot business machinery is just as important to understanding them as anything else they did.

I can't say that I had ever thought of them as capitalists in the sense that Doherty suggests. But after reading the article, I can't disagree. Anyway, I just wanted to write a note of thanks for such a thoughtful piece on something many of us hold dear and want to share with others.

Rick Ober
West Collingswood, NJ

Great article! As an old musician/writer/fan going back to the 1960s who even had the privilege of hanging with Jerry Garcia a few times (30-plus years ago), I'd say Brian Doherty's review is probably the best snapshot of their career I've seen, and one of the few bits of writing about the Dead I've ever read that never made me want to jump up and shout, "Objection! That's not right!"

Rick Lieberman
New York, NY

As a longtime **reason** reader, advocate of individual liberty, and "bored kid of the Reagan years" who saw close to 100 Dead shows, I agree wholeheartedly with Doherty's take on the Dead. I always felt that the phenomenon could have happened only here in America.

I have often asked myself: How could people who revel in free-form musical experimentation and the great unknown vastness that is emblematic of the psychedelic experience, and who are generally mistrustful of authority, become so enamored of static, centrally managed socialist or left-wing politics? If there was ever a group that would be open to libertarian thought, I figured it would be Deadheads and other jam band fans.

Michael A. Abbate
Whitestone, NY

For an exchange between Michael Fumento and Gregory Taubes, whose *New York Times Magazine* article on the Atkins diet was critiqued by Fumento in "Big Fat Fake" (February), visit **reason online** at www.reason.com/0303/taubes.shtml.

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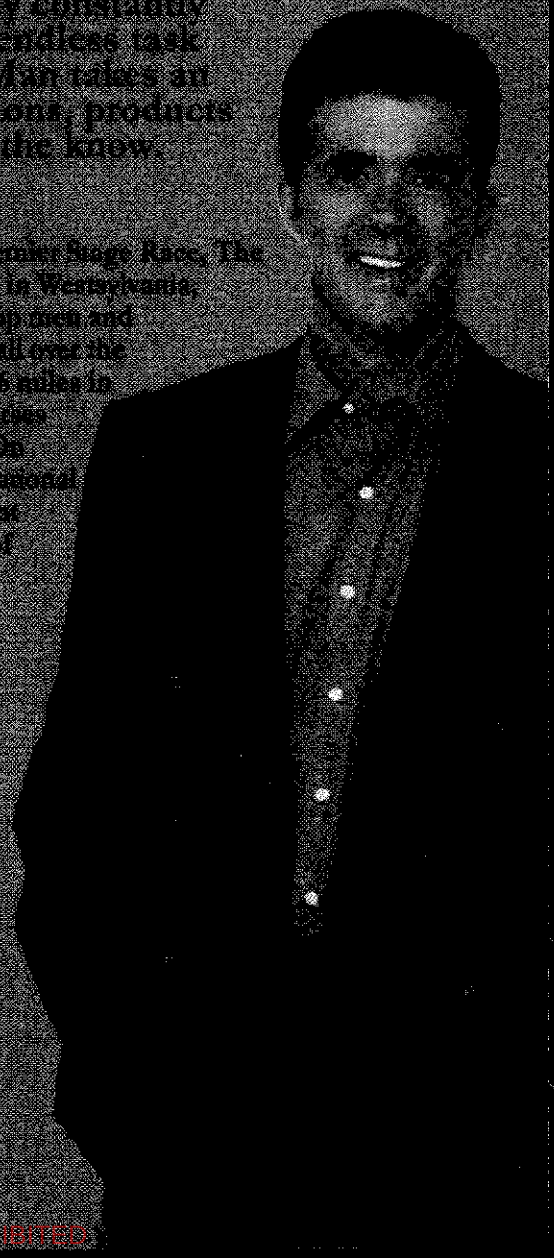

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Welfare-to-work kids; Libya's libertarian rhetoric; rent-a-country; wine label censorship; Baghdad rock; the war on pipes and dancing

Language revolution

Text Talk

Charles Paul Freund

"My smmr hols wr CWOT," a 13-year-old Scottish student wrote recently in a school essay. "B4, we usd 2go2 NY 2C my bro, his GF & thr 3 :- kds FTF. ILNY, it's a gr8 plc." According to the British newspaper *The Telegraph*, the rest of the assigned paper read the same way.

"I could not believe what I was seeing," the child's teacher told the newspaper. "The page was riddled with hieroglyphics, many of which I simply could not translate."

That's because the teacher was illiterate in the language of cell phone text messaging, which her idiot student had chosen to use for her paper. The *Telegraph* supplied a "translation": "My summer holidays were a complete waste of time. Before, we used to go to New York to see my brother, his girlfriend and their three screaming kids face to face. I love New York. It's a great place." The girl's excuse for eschewing standard English: Texting was "easier."

Apparently, the same kind of texting has been turning up on Scotland's standardized English exams lately, which enabled the London-based *Telegraph* to alarm its readers with a slap-on-the-forehead "crisis." According to the paper, "Education experts have warned of the potentially damaging effect on literacy of mobile phone text messaging."

But if anybody in this tale has a literacy problem, it's the teacher, because she couldn't decipher a "language" used daily by millions of people. Of course, the student has a problem too, but hers is a problem of intelligence; she didn't know what language to use when. Most texters are, in essence, bilingual, and they know when to apply their varied talents. But you won't soon see education experts proclaim that "the spread of mobile phone text messaging is allowing students to expand their facility with symbolic logic and to apply it in new and creative ways."

Even if they were to say such a thing, you probably wouldn't read about it in the newspaper. ◙

White House rhetoric and reality

Trading Places

Jesse Walker

In matters economic, Democrats are supposed to be the party of big government, Republicans the faction of fiscal and regulatory restraint. That distinction is reflected by the parties' rhetoric and, in relative terms, by their legislative behavior. But when it comes to the executive branch, the sides seem to have reversed.

So argues Jeffrey Frankel in the March 2003 issue of the *Milken Institute Review*. "When it comes to White House economic policy, the Republican and Democratic parties have switched places since the 1960s," writes Frankel, a Harvard economist who served on the U.S. Council

30 years ago in reason

"[Antonin] Scalia startled liberal newsmen and professors by pointing out that the fairness/free press controversy arises out of the wording of the Federal Communications Act itself. The Act contains the inherently contradictory provisions that the FCC must not engage in censorship but must regulate (including the selection of license applicants) on the basis of service to the 'public interest.'"

—Trends, "Freedom in the Air?"

"The lying that each of our administrations has done for the last twenty-five years is a tribute to their own belief that the people would not support [the Vietnam War] if they understood truly what was being done."

—Daniel Ellsberg, "Why I Did It!"

"A republican, democratic form of government cannot survive with the practice of Executive secrecy that we have experienced in the last quarter of a century."

—Daniel Ellsberg, "Why I Did It!"

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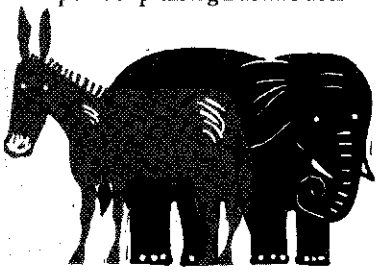
of Economic Advisers from 1997 to 1999. "By now the pattern is sufficiently well established that the generalization can no longer be denied: The Republicans have become the party of fiscal irresponsibility, trade restriction, big government, and failing-grade microeconomics." Democratic presidents, comparatively speaking, are "the agents of fiscal responsibility, free trade, competitive markets, and good textbook microeconomics."

Frankel supports this counterintuitive conclusion by comparing the actual economic policies of Carter, Clinton, Reagan, and the Bushes. "A simple look at the federal budget statistics shows an uncanny tendency for the deficit to rise precisely during Republican presidencies," Frankel notes, while "declining deficits and then record surpluses were achieved during the Clinton Administration."

Similarly, Carter and Clinton were harder on inflation than either Reagan or the first Bush. Federal employment grew under Reagan and Bush I, then shrank under Clinton. Recent Republican presidents have been protectionists, "judged not just by some politics-free ideal, but as compared to the record of Clinton." And it was Carter who unleashed deregulation in the 1970s, while "Reagan at best continued the trend." (The paper ignores Nixon, but the president who gave us wage and price controls would certainly seem to fit the pattern.)

Frankel recognizes that Carter and Clinton were scarcely libertarians, citing the earlier president's energy policies and the later one's intensely bureaucratic proposal for health care reform. And as a deficit hawk, Frankel gives Republicans little credit for their tax cuts, to the point of praising Bush I's decision to break his "no new taxes" pledge. A consistent limited-government man would want to balance the budget by reducing spending, not increasing revenues.

But then, Frankel isn't a limited-government man. He's a mainstream economist noting a very real pattern—one that would be obvious were it not for the obfuscating effects of the two parties' rhetoric. ▯



Welfare-to-work kids are all right

Mother's Little Helpers

Brian Doherty

THE WELFARE REFORM act of 1996 put many single welfare mothers back in the work force. While there was widespread concern that this would have bad effects on their children—who presumably benefit from a mom around the house, especially with no father around—preliminary research reported in the March 7 issue of the journal *Science* indicates otherwise.

A team of researchers led by P. Lindsay Chase-Lansdale of Northwestern University surveyed 2,402 low-income children and their mothers in three cities. The kids, ages 2–4 and 10–14, were surveyed over the course of 16 months from 1999 to 2001. The researchers assessed the children's cognitive achievement, problem behaviors, and psychological well-being.

For the younger cohort, the study found that "whether or not the mother left welfare, entered welfare, took a job, or left a job between interviews had no discernible link to preschoolers' development." In other words, welfare reform seems to have neither helped nor hurt the young ones.

For the early adolescents, there was almost no noticeable effect. But where there was, "the most consistent pattern was that mothers' transitions into employment was related to improvements in adolescents' mental health." Mothers' leaving welfare for either short- or long-term work seemed to lead to

decreases in early teen drug and alcohol use.

Researchers also found that working mothers didn't greatly diminish the amount of time they spent with adolescents; they sacrificed other activities to make time for work. Preschoolers did spend less time with working mothers but with no apparent short-term ill effect.

The authors are appropriately modest about the long-term implications of this study, conducted during the tail end of the last economic boom. But they do theorize in the paper's conclusion that the early adolescents' psychological benefits might come from a self-esteem boost and decrease in anxiety when mom becomes a breadwinner. ▯

Libya's libertarian rhetoric

The Dubious Anarchist

Jesse Walker

SINCE 9/11, Muammar al-Qaddafi has played a schizoid role in American foreign policy. On one hand, the Libyan dictator appears regularly on lists of terrorist statesmen the administration may intend to depose. On the other, he has repeatedly expressed interest in assisting the U.S. in the war on terror, a stance that fits his recent efforts at a rapprochement with Washington.

Speaking to *Newsweek* last year, Qaddafi claimed he was exchanging intelligence with the United States and Britain, so that Libyan terrorists operating in those countries could be "wiped »

Quotes

"There is no question that [Richard] Perle believes that removing Saddam from power is the right thing to do. At the same time, he has set up a company that may gain from a war." ▯

—Seymour Hersh in the March 17 *New Yorker*

"Sy Hersh is the closest thing American journalism has to a terrorist, frankly." ▯

—Richard Perle, after Wolf Blitzer confronted him with the above quote on CNN's *Late Edition*, March 9

"Citing distraction of business controversy, Richard Perle quits Pentagon post" ▯

—March 28 AP headline

Source

The Thoreau Institute offers up a neat photo essay at www.ti.org/og.html, detailing urban planners' meddlesome scheme for the rustic Oak Grove suburb of Portland, Oregon. The institute also has a useful compendium of links on urban-planning-related topics at www.ti.org/vatools.html. ▯

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Brickbats

Work crews tore down billboards across the United Kingdom as the country's ban on tobacco advertising took effect. Government officials and health groups say the ban will help reduce cigarette smoking, but they aren't waiting to see if that prediction comes true. "The next step must be a complete ban on smoking in public places," says Vivienne Nathanson, head of the science and ethics committee of the British Medical Association.

Khir Toyo, chief minister of the Malaysian state of Selangor, wants women to air their dirty laundry. Literally. He told wives who suspect their husbands of visiting prostitutes to look for stains on their men's clothes and strange receipts in their pockets, and to bring those items as evidence to the police so they can use it to organize raids on the hookers.

Faced with soaring crime rates, the French government has passed a law imposing two months in prison on people caught loitering in stairways and lobbies of buildings and on prostitutes found guilty of "passive soliciting," i.e., trying to attract clients by dressing sexy. The law also gives six months in prison to those who insult the flag or the national anthem.

India Tracy says she was bullied and beaten for years by other children in her Union County, Tennessee, school. Her troubles started four years ago when the school excused the children and teachers to attend a fundamentalist revival. Tracy, a neopagan, was the only child who didn't attend, and the principal called her to the office to ask why. Her bus driver started asking her if she'd gone to church that week in front of other students. After that, India was allegedly beaten and called a Satan worshipper by other students and forced to lead classes in prayer.

Jordan's top court sentenced Muhammad Mubaideen, Roman Haddad, and Nasser Qamash to two to six months in jail and shuttered the newspaper they worked for. Their crime? Writing and publishing an article, drawn from religious and historical sources, on the sex life of Islam's founder. The court ruled that the article, which claimed Mohammed had the sexual energy of 40 men, libeled the prophet. Maybe they should have said he had the stamina of 70 men.

Employees of Great Britain's Department of Work and Pensions average 12.9 sick days per year, compared to an estimated 6.7 days for workers in the private sector. They also average more days out than employees in many other government departments. The minister for work, Nick Brown, says he is troubled by the high number of sick days and may ask that the government declare public sector work a high-risk occupation.

When Linda Del Toro's 18-month-old daughter had a seizure, she called 911...and waited half an hour for an ambulance to arrive. The driver had first gone to Sylmar, California, instead of the family's home in Pacoima. It turns out that the dispatcher had the wrong address in her database—a fact the family had tried to explain. The operator apparently thought the computer knew more about the family's location than they did.

Charles Oliver

› out." Meanwhile, his country is still officially branded a rogue state but was excluded from President Bush's Axis of Evil.

That isn't the only contradiction in modern Libya. Since taking power in 1969, Qaddafi has been a rare beast: an autocrat who pretends to be an anarchist. On at least three occasions, the colonel has made a big show of abolishing the Libyan state. His most recent display began in March 2000, when he eliminated 12 ministries and declared that the remaining five would soon follow. "You have no government to complain against," Qaddafi declared to the masses. "Now everything is in your hands and in the future you can complain to yourselves."

Alas: *Some* institution is responsible for all the censorship and extrajudicial executions that Amnesty International keeps complaining about, and it sure *looks* like a state. Still, let's be constructive in our criticisms: In eliminating those 12 ministries, Qaddafi did more in one day than the Gingrich Congress accomplished in two years. Of course, he's also a military dictator. You can't have everything.

Prince for a day

Rent-a-Country

Sara Rimensnyder

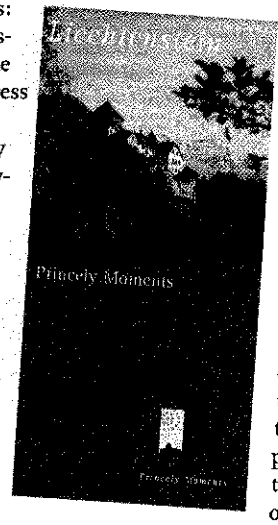
CARE TO BE king for a day? Rent Liechtenstein.

Actually, Liechtenstein doesn't have a king; it has a prince. But for $375 to $500 a head, with a minimum of 450 heads, corporations can now rent the entire 160-square-kilometer country, with full access to one of the royal castles.

"The basic idea is that an entire, small country plays host to a conference with all the various possibilities at its disposal," Roland Buechel, director of the state tourism agency, told the *London Times*. When a company signs up, the mayor of Liechtenstein's capital, Vaduz, hands over the keys to the principality and flies the company's flag. The tourism agency plans to offer "corporate team-building activities" such as tobogganing, museum visits, and wine tasting in the royal cellars.

Meanwhile, the country's real royalty, 56-year-old Prince Hans-Adam II, has business plans of his own for the kingdom: He recently threatened to sell Liechtenstein to Bill Gates and rename it Microsoft if he wasn't granted more political power. Though he later said he was joking, his threats to move to Austria, taking his considerable riches with him, might have been more serious.

Either or both bluffs seem to have paid off: In March a referendum granting the prince extensive new powers passed easily, with voter turnout upward of 80 percent. According to *The New York Times*, the resulting constitutional amendments will allow Hans-Adam to dissolve Parliament; influence the appointment of judges; be removed from the jurisdiction of the country's constitutional court; and veto legislation passed by Parliament. But the amendment also gives citizens the right to vote the prince out, though various males in his extended family would ultimately decide whether to replace him.



Wine label censorship

Drink Up Anyway

Jacob Sullum

IT WAS MORE than a decade ago that wineries first tried to inform their customers about the health benefits of moderate drinking. Since then the evidence has only gotten stronger, but the federal government still won't let them talk about it. »

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Balance Sheet

Jeff A. Taylor

Wax On

Starting August 1, North Dakotans can legally get a bikini wax from state-licensed cosmetologists. Previously, the nether regions were not a recognized service area.

On Principle

National Security Council anti-terror official Rand Beers takes a stand and resigns, reportedly over concerns that the war on terror will take a backseat to the war in Iraq. Sure enough: Soon after, 4,000 Marines are switched from counter-terror to Iraq.

Why Not—Fi

McDonald's, Hilton, and Marriott are among the chains that join Starbucks in building Wi-Fi networks. Wireless Net connections attract customers, so a public network built with private dollars is evolving—and the cost should be recouped through higher sales.

Agri-Help

Big agricultural companies get behind the African Agricultural Technology Foundation and promise to work toward improving food production on the famine-plagued continent. They'll focus on such crops as cowpeas, chickpeas, cassava, and sweet potatoes, which haven't yet been studied to improve yields.

Backseat Drivers

Attempts to allow cops to pull over unbuckled drivers fail in Virginia, West Virginia, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Utah. It could be that the buckle-enforcers' public relations approach needs work. "I sympathize with people who don't want to be told what to do, but it's not about them," Jeffrey Runge of the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration has explained.

Choice Decision

Florida's school voucher program quickly exhausts the $50 million budgeted for 15,000 scholarships for low-income kids to attend private schools. With long waiting lists after 55,000 applications, the state is confronted with proof of the little-advertised program's popularity.

Big Squeeze

The FBI and INS tag-team foreign students at the University of Idaho to get around Fifth Amendment protections. Student visas require holders to answer questions about immigration. But FBI queries about criminal matters normally require a court order and/or a chance to talk to an attorney.

Professor Obvious

University of California–Davis psychology professor Gregory Herek conducts a national opinion survey to find out that male respondents feel better toward bisexual women and lesbians than toward bisexual and gay men. Herek also discovers that liberals feel better about gays and lesbians than conservatives do.

Search Engine

Since 9/11, Attorney General John Ashcroft has authorized more than 170 emergency electronic surveillance and physical searches of suspected terrorists and other national security threats. In the previous 20 years, 47 such searches were green-lighted.

House Arrest

New Jersey will respond to any national "code red" anti-terror stance by forbidding all "non-critical functions." The state anti-terror czar adds, "You literally are staying home, is what happens, unless you are required to be out."

Disinformation Center

The Justice Department says the FBI no longer must confirm that the data it enters into the National Crime Information Center is accurate. Remember that when you are denied a job due to your involvement in a llama rustling ring.

Digital Anvil

German copyright holders are lobbying their government to slap a $13 "copyright tax" on all computers sold in the country. IBM, Microsoft, and others take the matter to German court—before the idea spreads.

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Data

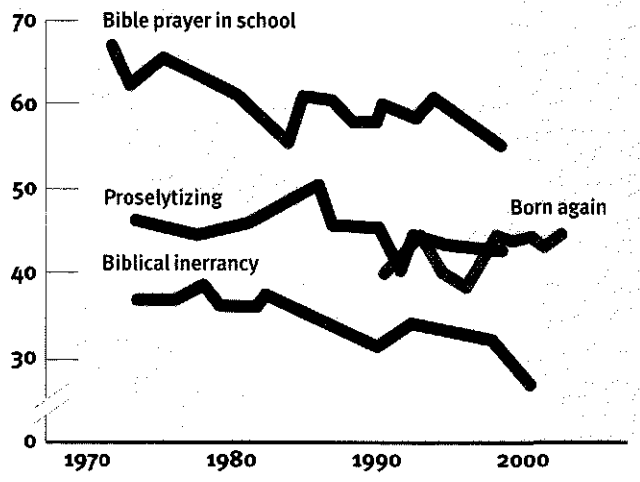
Not Keeping the Faith

Sara Rimensnyder

As Osama bin Laden could tell you, religious extremism—especially Islamic fundamentalism—is a major force shaping world events today. But is *Christian* fundamentalism in America on the rise? A Gallup poll analyzed in the March *Scientific American* by Rodger Doyle suggests a trend toward moderation among evangelical Christians.

From the late 1970s to 2000, the share of surveyed Americans who said they took the Bible literally declined by about 10 percentage points. Similar trends hold for support of Bible prayer in school and proselytizing. Meanwhile, the share of Americans describing themselves as "born again" or "evangelical" has bounced between 40 percent and 50 percent. Concludes Doyle, "The decline in the number of those believing in the inerrancy of the Bible and those supporting prayer in schools suggests that evangelicals are becoming more like other Americans in that they are more accepting of gender and racial equality and are moderating extreme anti-abortion attitudes, according to other research."

Indicators of Evangelicalism in the U.S.
(percent of adults)



Source: *Scientific American*, Gallup

That is the upshot of regulations published in March by the Treasury Department's Alcohol and Tobacco Tax and Trade Bureau (TTB), which has taken over the speech policing duties that used to be handled by the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms. In 31 pages of tiny type, the TTB reiterated the government's position that "a specific health claim on a label or in an advertisement," no matter how well documented, "is considered misleading" unless it is accompanied by detailed warnings about the risks of alcohol consumption (in addition to the existing surgeon general's warning). Since fitting all that information on a wine label is impractical, this requirement has the same effect as a flat prohibition.

The TTB also decided that recommending the federal government's own advice about alcohol was misleading without a disclaimer. In 1999 the Treasury Department approved a label that directs consumers seeking information on "the health effects of wine consumption" to the government's *Dietary Guidelines for Americans*. The section on alcohol in this pamphlet is a litany of dire warnings that includes one positive statement: "Drinking in moderation may lower risk for coronary heart disease, mainly among men over age 45 and women under age 55."

The bland reference to the guidelines caused an uproar among anti-alcohol activists and legislators, who insisted it would encourage alcohol abuse. Seeming to accept this argument, the TTB is now requiring wineries to counteract any mention of the pamphlet with a warning: "This statement should not encourage you to drink or to increase your alcohol consumption for health reasons." ▮

Heavy metal dissent

Baghdad Rock

Charles Paul Freund

MEET IRAQ'S ONLY officially tolerated heavy metal band. According to the German weekly *Der Spiegel*, A. Crassicauda (the Latin designation for the black scorpion) is a five-man group that models itself on Slayer, Metallica, and Machine Head. Members learned the genre through pirated CDs and videos smuggled in from Turkey and Jordan. The frontman, "Bloodmaster" Walid, is the son of an Iraqi army officer.

Although A. Crassicauda sings in English, it reportedly sells out the concerts it stages at Baghdad's major venues. The second number at each show is an obligatory paean to the regime; the group speeds through it in two minutes. "By following the leader Saddam Hussein," it goes, "We will make them fall, we will drive them insane." When that's out of the way, the group starts doing songs ("Massacre," "Fade to Black") from a cautiously subversive repertoire.

Spiegel reporter Bernhard Zand offers this verse from the song "The Doll" as representative of the group's veiled meanings: "I guess it's time to change the actor / I guess it's time to close this chapter / I guess it's time to go to the top / I guess it's time to say stop." For the record, the group's members wisely deny that their material is political.

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But then, as one of their own songs puts it, "To live, I have to lie."

Iraq's remaining literary establishment falls all over itself to praise Saddam's stupid novels; the country's leading singer of poetical verses, Kazem al-Saher, has exiled himself and toured the U.S. But there has yet been audible dissent in downtown Baghdad, and it's driven by a heavy metal beat. Perfect.

The war on pipes and dancing

Tainted by Drugs

Jacob Sullum

TOMMY CHONG SAYS his colorful glass pipes, featured at a Hollywood exhibit last fall, qualify as art. The Justice Department says they qualify as illegal drug paraphernalia.

There's little question about who is going to win this argument. Federal law prohibits the sale of any product that is "primarily intended or designed for use" with illegal drugs, and the Supreme Court has ruled that the determination should be based on "objective" evidence of "an item's likely use." In practice, this means the person whose judgment matters is the prosecutor who doesn't buy that "For Tobacco Use Only" sign.

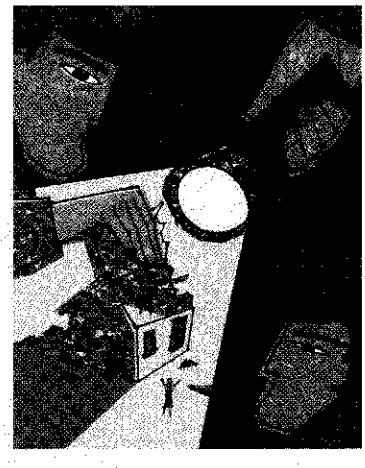
Chong's Los Angeles company was raided on February 24 as part of a nationwide sweep in which federal agents searched more than 100 homes and businesses and arrested 55 people (not including Chong). The operation highlighted the spectral quality of drug paraphernalia offenses, which exist only when the government decides to notice them. Targeted distributors complained that they had been operating in the open for years, assuming their disclaimers of illegal intent were enough to keep them on the right side of the law.

And perhaps they were, until John Ashcroft took over the Justice Department. Announcing the arrests, the attorney general proclaimed, "The illegal drug paraphernalia industry has invaded the homes of families across the country without their knowledge."

Although the thought of a bong-bearing hippie under every bed may keep Ashcroft awake at night, it's hard to see how seizing marijuana pipes can be expected to have any impact on drug use. As long as there are paper and aluminum foil, pot smokers will have ready alternatives.

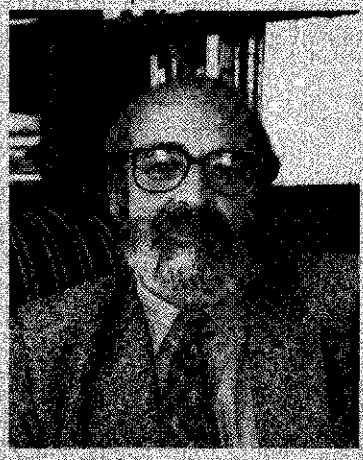
Similarly, the proposed federal crackdown on raves seems unlikely to deter many MDMA users—which does not mean it would have no impact. The Drug Policy Alliance warns that revived anti-rave legislation "could effectively ban live music and dancing, as well as any other event that might attract someone who would use drugs." The RAVE Act would hold venue owners responsible for drug use on their property even if they took steps to prevent it.

The war on drugs thus moves from illegal intoxicants to items and activities associated with them, from symbols to symbols of symbols. Soon Tommy Chong himself may be illegal.



Lightening Up

Nick Gillespie



Alan Charles Kors

Ten years in the making and boasting more than 300 contributors, Oxford University Press' new *Encyclopedia of the Enlightenment* is one of the most ambitious and important reference works to be published in recent years. Edited by University of Pennsylvania historian and **reason** Contributing Editor Alan Charles Kors, the four-volume, 2,000-page *Encyclopedia* redefines the Enlightenment as "the long eighteenth century" (the 1670s through the early 1800s).

The contributors also expand the geographical boundaries of the Enlightenment by discussing intellectual, political, cultural, and technological discoveries from "the Urals to the west coast of South America," says Kors, who is also president of the nonprofit Foundation for Individual Rights in Education and co-author of the 1998 book *The Shadow University: The Betrayal of Liberty on America's Campuses*. The result is a great summing up of the period that still underwrites the modern world. Editor-in-Chief Nick Gillespie talked with Kors in March.

Q: Why an encyclopedia of the Enlightenment?

A: The past generation of scholars has produced a remarkable flowering of new research in terms of revising and deepening our understanding of certain figures, works, and movements, and asking new questions. The Enlightenment has also come under attack as something that has restricted the freedom of the civilization in which it occurred. In fact, it was an extraordinary movement that was about the liberation of the human mind and human choices and human knowledge. It was above all else a rejection of the presumptive authority of the past, not a rejection of authority per se but of arbitrary authority whose sole claim was its having stood the test of time.

Q: Where did the Enlightenment come up short?

A: It's greatly exaggerated by people from the cultural right and left, but some Enlightenment figures believed in the ability to construct by reason alone blueprints for human life and society. In my own view, the problem was not something the Enlightenment thought it solved but something it inadequately identified as a burning issue. The Enlightenment identified problems of human life in need of reform—the need for religious tolerance, abolition of torture, improving agriculture, ending privileges of birth, for instance—without thinking about power. Enlightenment thinkers were more interested in outcomes than in what limits were placed on even beneficent reformist power.

Q: Who are your favorite Enlightenment figures?

A: Denis Diderot and David Hume. One of my great delights is that two men so extraordinarily different admired each other wonderfully.

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Gay Rights Go to Court

Sodomy laws, same-sex marriage, and the future of homosexual rights

THE U.S. SUPREME Court is set to rule, for the second time in less than 20 years, on the constitutionality of state laws prohibiting consensual sodomy. At the same time, the Supreme Judicial Court in Massachusetts is weighing a lawsuit that seeks to legalize same-sex marriages, claiming that marriage to the partner of one's choice is "protected by the liberty and due process clauses of the Massachusetts Constitution." The two cases and the political response to them illustrate both the progress our culture has made toward equality for gay men and women and the hurdles that remain.

The striking thing about the Supreme Court case *Lawrence v. Texas* is the very thought that in the United States in the 21st century, you can get arrested for having sex in your bedroom with a consenting adult. The two men challenging the law, John Lawrence and Tyron Gardner, were briefly jailed and fined $200 each after being caught flagrante delicto in Lawrence's unlocked apartment, which the police entered on a neighbor's false tip about an intruder.

The state's position, in a nutshell, is that it has the right to ban homosexual acts because it considers them immoral. Significantly, the Bush Justice Department has not taken a stand on *Lawrence v. Texas*. Several socially conservative groups, however, have weighed in to affirm that the government does indeed belong in our bedrooms. A joint brief from the Family Research Council and Focus on the Family states that the Texas law is "a reasonable means of promoting and protecting marriage—the union of a man and a woman."

Which brings us to the far more complex issue of same-sex marriage, raised in a Massachusetts lawsuit by seven gay and lesbian couples seeking the right to marry. How the court will rule is anybody's guess, but in this instance the decision is unlikely to settle the issue. State lawmakers are already gearing up to pass a constitutional amendment stating that "only the union of one man and one woman shall be valid or recognized as a marriage in Massachusetts," which would supercede a court ruling for the plaintiffs. If it passes, it would make Massachusetts the 37th state to outlaw same-sex marriage.

Most secular arguments against gay marriage have been masterfully demolished by gay writers such as Andrew Sullivan and Jonathan Rauch. The most prominent of these arguments—that marriage is defined by its procreative nature—is belied by the fact that heterosexual spouses who are infertile or childless by choice have the same legal rights as married couples with children.

In a 2002 debate with Sullivan in *National* *Review*, Hudson Institute fellow Stanley Kurtz argued that marriage is based on sexual difference and complementary gender roles, and will thus be irreparably damaged by the legalization of same-sex unions. Kurtz's view of sexual complementarity is stock conservative dogma: Men want sex, women want love and family, and marriage is a bargain in which men trade commitment and financial support for sex and women domesticate men.

Yet this 1950s view of marriage is no longer incorporated into American family law, which in most states is now formally gender-neutral. In practice, courts still tend to favor women as custodial parents and to stress men's financial obligations, but for better or worse, this tendency is unlikely to be affected by the legalization of same-sex marriage. While Kurtz argues that growing acceptance of gay rights is closely related to "no-strings heterosexual hookups

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and 50 percent divorce rates," public opinion trends suggest otherwise. Anti-gay attitudes remained largely unchanged throughout the 1970s and '80s, with about three-quarters of Americans agreeing that sexual relations between adults of the same sex are "always wrong." That figure began to decline in the 1990s—the same period when attitudes toward divorce and casual sex grew more conservative.

Another common argument is that redefining marriage is a slippery slope: Legalize same-sex unions, and who's to say that polygamy isn't next? (While opponents of gay marriage stress that heterosexuality is a universal characteristic of marriage, they tend to evade the fact that polygamous marriage has existed throughout history.) One major difference is that legalizing polygamy would alter the nature of all marriages by creating the option of taking a second or third spouse. By contrast, allowing gays to marry does not tangibly affect heterosexual couples. As Rauch has argued, the liberalization of divorce laws has altered marriage far more than the legalization of gay unions ever could.

Many people feel that male/female complementarity gives a special value to heterosexual unions. They have a right to this view, just as Christians have a right to believe that people who accept Jesus as their savior have a special relationship with God. What they shouldn't have is the right to impose their belief on others.

For now, the weakness of the arguments against gay marriage has done little to diminish the strength of popular opposition. Even today, 50 percent to 60 percent of Americans believe that a sexual relationship between consenting adults of the same sex is always wrong; fewer than 30 percent unequivocally say that it's "not wrong." At least 60 percent oppose allowing gay and lesbian couples to marry. While four out of five Americans would describe an unwed mother and her children as a "family," fewer than one in three would apply the term to a gay or lesbian couple raising children.

At the same time, Americans overwhelmingly believe that gay men and women should have equal opportunity in employment. Only a third or so think gays should not be hired as schoolteachers, and close to 60 percent say they would vote for a gay presidential candidate. It seems that many endorse equality for gays as individuals but not for gay relationships. This mind-set is reflected in popular movies and television shows such as *Will and Grace*, with sympathetic homosexual characters who are almost never shown in romantic situations.

To make the picture even more complicated, Americans now favor, by a margin of about 55 percent to 37 percent, marriage-like rights for same-sex partners in such areas as inheritance, pension benefits, and health insurance; a slim majority believes gay couples should be allowed to adopt, and close to half favor legal protections for gay domestic partnerships. The stumbling block seems to be the word *marriage*.

At present, gay rights groups tend to focus on practical protections for domestic partnerships. The best prospect for same-sex marriage is Sullivan's vision of state-by-state experiments gradually leading to broader acceptance. Paradoxically, the 1996 Defense of Marriage Act, which allows states to refuse recognition to same-sex marriages performed in other states—a law that is understandably anathema to gay rights activists—may actually facilitate such experiments. Forcing conservative Southern states to recognize same-sex marriages performed in Massachusetts is a sure way to galvanize passionate opposition.

Likewise, quite a few abortion rights supporters now believe that the federalization of abortion rights via *Roe v. Wade* was a mistake that gave the right-to-life movement a potent shot in the arm, and that the pro-choice cause would have been better served by state-by-state liberalization of abortion.

Ultimately, perhaps, a true cultural shift will be brought about by the increased visibility of the human face of same-sex relationships. It was the testimony of Sharon Smith, the partner of San Francisco dog-mauling victim Diane Whipple, that persuaded the California legislature to allow domestic partners to file wrongful death lawsuits on behalf of a deceased partner. What emerged from Smith's statements, in court and in the media, was a compelling portrait of the two women as a couple like any other.

Until attitudes change, gays have a difficult road to travel. There will be clear-cut victories for human dignity, freedom, and privacy, such as the likely demise of sodomy laws. And there will be complicated and frustrating compromises on issues like marriage.

Contributing Editor Cathy Young (cathyyoung2@cs.com) is a columnist for The Boston Globe.

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Gulf of Misunderstanding

What this war says about the state of the media

Back during the first Gulf War, most of us got our news from the grimy, black and white pages of daily newspapers and from safari-jacket-sporting broadcast bobbleheads on ABC, CBS, and NBC (only the grim visages of Peter Jennings, Dan Rather, and Tom Brokaw could have made a "Scud Stud" out of the likes of itinerant correspondent Arthur Kent). Established in 1980 yet still earning its cub reporter stripes 10 years later, the (relatively) new kid on the block was Ted Turner's CNN, whose live-from-Baghdad reports circumvented the Pentagon's info clampdown and whose 24/7 coverage rewrote the rule book on how to cover war.

This time around, not only has Saddam Hussein's self-glorifying statuary been dragged to the ground, so has much of the media establishment. Ted Turner is an also-ran as a media mogul and the trailblazing news network he founded is basic cable's equivalent of your father's Oldsmobile. Even before but especially during the new war, CNN has been thoroughly smoked in the ratings by the 6-year-old Fox News Channel, whose relentless "fair and balanced" mantra, delivered with a knowing wink and a smile, amply proves that irony survived the 9/11 attacks in fine form.

Another outlet that wasn't around for Gulf War I, the Qatar-based Al Jazeera, routinely delivers reports that are as fanciful as anything in *The Arabian Nights*—and highly useful as supplements to Western media sources. Other news channels, both foreign and domestic, add yet more to the mix.

Peter and Dan and Tom are still around, of course. They're older, wiser, and richer than ever—and watched by fewer and fewer people. Broadcast news audiences have declined by at least one-third during the past decade, leaving us all to wonder whether street thugs nowadays would even bother insisting that Dan Rather finally—*finally!*—tell us all about the frequency. Thanks to the World Wide Web—still a year away from going live when U.S. tanks rolled into Iraq in 1991—we can supplement whatever we find in the now-color-filled major U.S. dailies with virtually every newspaper in the world, from established press organs such as *Le Monde* and the London *Times* to truly alternative rags such as *The People's Korea*, which promotes the greater glory of the Dear Leader better known as Kim Jong Il (and if you can't read a paper's language, a translation site is only a click away).

On top of the exponentially larger cyber-newsstand at our fingertips, whole new forms of participatory journalism have come into existence between Gulf wars, perhaps none more striking with regard to Operation Iraqi Freedom than Salam Pax's pseudonymous, haunting (and possibly faked) Baghdad-based blog at http://dear_raed.blogspot.com/.

We've got news and opinions galore coming out of our ears—and our TVs, our radios, and our computers. Yet in a world so flush with proliferating information sources and media-based creative destruction, in a world overflowing with more and different voices (big and small, smart and dumb) than ever before, it's comforting to know that some things never change.

Hence, just as Saddam's statues were being dragged through the streets of Baghdad and that news was being reported, critiqued, and discussed in more ways than have ever been possible in all of human history, alarums were being sounded that what we *really* need in the U.S. is stricter regulation of media.

Speaking at April's National Association of Broadcasters convention in Las Vegas, Barry Diller, the former poobah who oversaw Universal Studios TV production unit, solemnly intoned that, "The big four networks have in fact reconstituted themselves into the oligopoly that the FCC originally set out to curb in the 1960s." Never mind that "the big three" networks became "the big four" under the very "deregulation" Diller assailed. According to the *Las Vegas Review-Journal*, he insisted, "We need more regulation, not less."

Maybe Diller and his broadcaster pals need more regulation. But if the media world is any indication—and it is—the rest of us don't. ■

Nick Gillespie (gillespie@reason.com) is editor-in-chief of **reason.**

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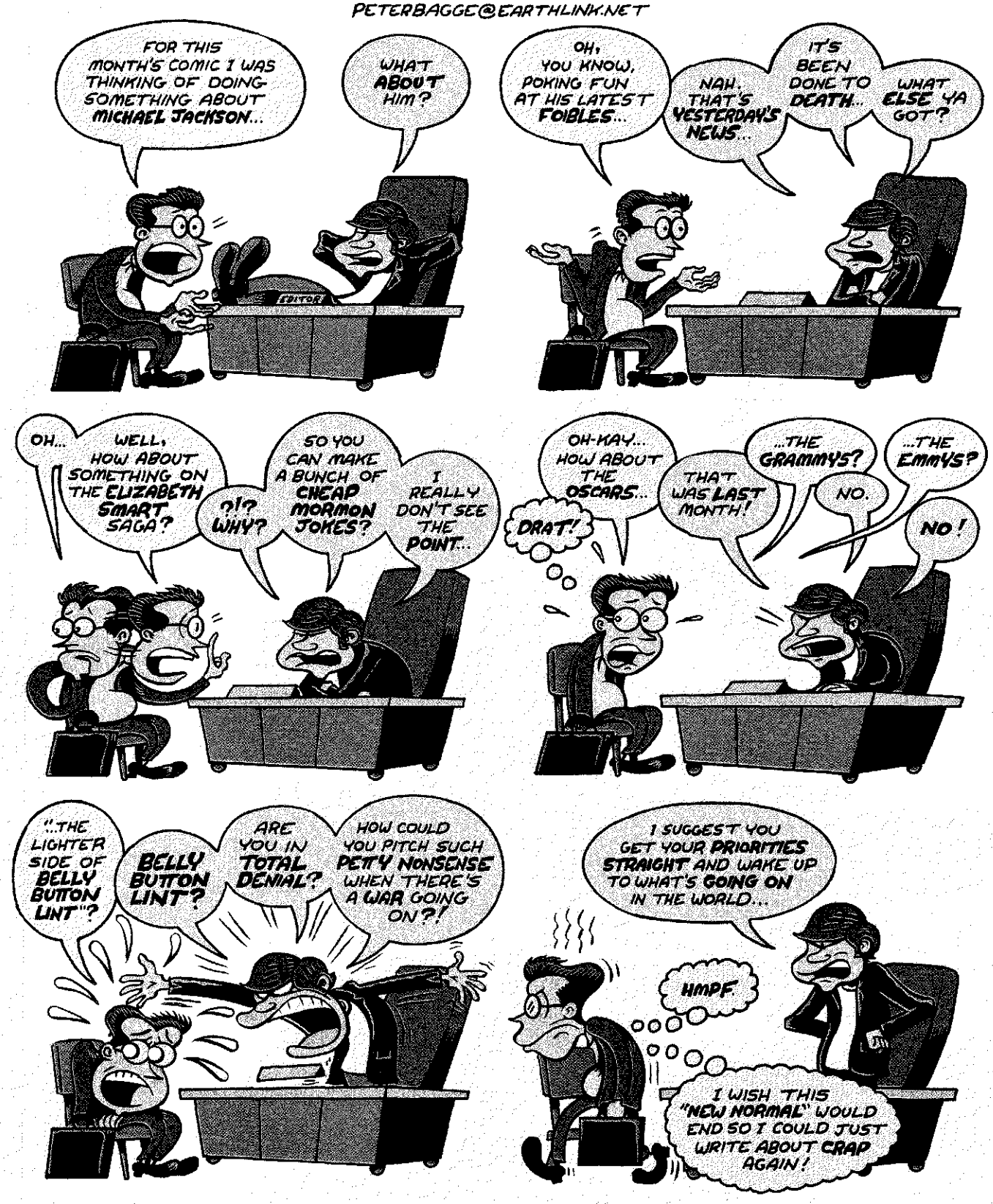
IN PRAISE OF MEANINGLESS CRAP

PETERBAGGE@EARTHLINK.NET


FOR THIS MONTH'S COMIC I WAS THINKING OF DOING SOMETHING ABOUT MICHAEL JACKSON...
WHAT ABOUT HIM?
EDITOR
OH, YOU KNOW, POKING FUN AT HIS LATEST FOIBLES...
NAH. THAT'S YESTERDAY'S NEWS...
IT'S BEEN DONE TO DEATH...
WHAT ELSE YA GOT?
OH... WELL, HOW ABOUT SOMETHING ON THE ELIZABETH SMART SAGA?
?!? WHY?
SO YOU CAN MAKE A BUNCH OF CHEAP MORMON JOKES?
I REALLY DON'T SEE THE POINT..
OH-KAY... HOW ABOUT THE OSCARS...
DRAT!
THAT WAS LAST MONTH!
...THE GRAMMYS?
NO.
...THE EMMYS?
NO!
"..THE LIGHTER SIDE OF BELLY BUTTON LINT"?
BELLY BUTTON LINT?
ARE YOU IN TOTAL DENIAL?
HOW COULD YOU PITCH SUCH PETTY NONSENSE WHEN THERE'S A WAR GOING ON?!
I SUGGEST YOU GET YOUR PRIORITIES STRAIGHT AND WAKE UP TO WHAT'S GOING ON IN THE WORLD...
HMPF.
I WISH THIS "NEW NORMAL" WOULD END SO I COULD JUST WRITE ABOUT CRAP AGAIN!

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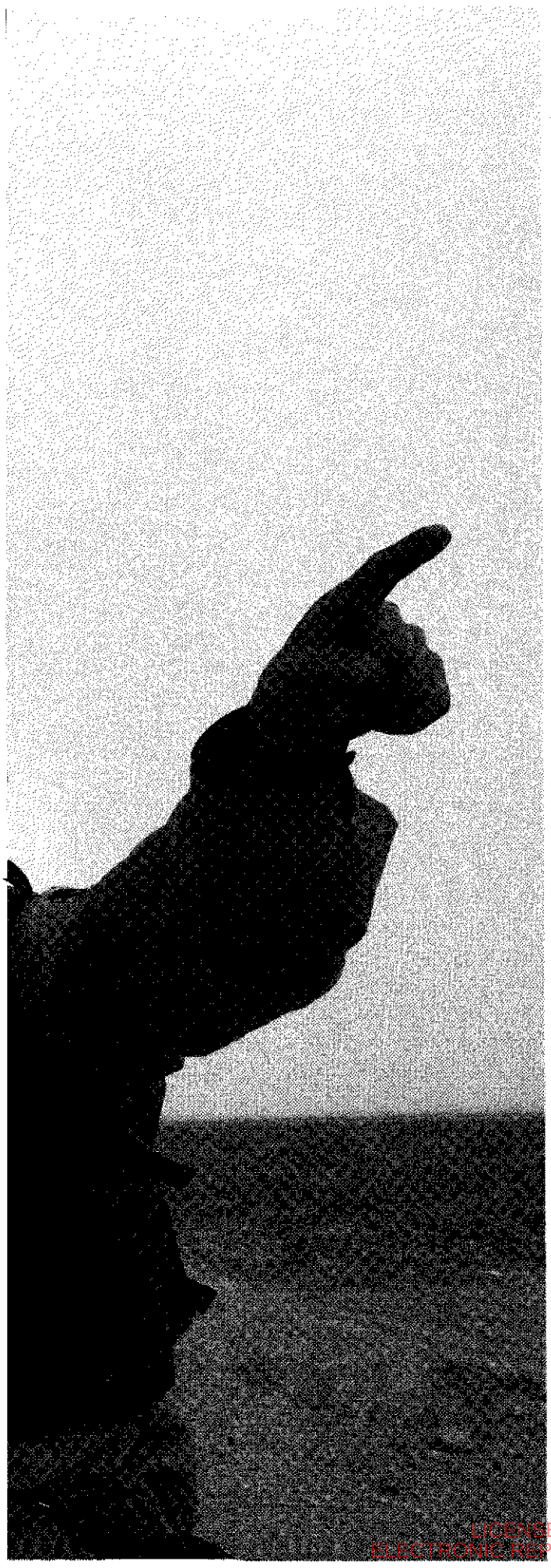

What Next for U.S. Foreign Policy?

Power, stability, and the post-Iraq world order

Interviews by Jesse Walker

IT'S BEEN CLEAR since September 12, 2001, that U.S. foreign policy was going to change radically. The only questions were which direction it would move in and how far. The invasion of Iraq has answered some of those questions but raised still more, as analysts debate whether such wars will undermine the stability of the Middle East, whether that status quo is worth preserving in the first place, and how seriously to take the president's talk of making Iraq a beacon of liberty and democracy.

The deeper question, of course, is not what the administration *will* do but what it *should* do. As American troops massed outside Iraq and then entered it with guns drawn, Associate Editor Jesse Walker spoke to three men with very different ideas about the emerging world system. One is an Iraq hawk who thinks we shouldn't make a fetish of sovereignty or stability. One is an Iraq dove who wants a stable, multipolar balance of power, even if that means dictatorships sometimes prevail. And one is a dove—not just toward Iraq but virtually everywhere—with little interest in any stability that serves the interests of autocrats.

The Hawk: Ralph Peters

Since retiring from the U.S. Army in 1999 at the rank of lieutenant colonel, Ralph Peters, 51, has been a prolific author of essays on geopolitics and of military fiction. His two books on strategy, *Fighting for the Future* (1999) and *Beyond Terror* (2002), have been both controversial and influential—sometimes among the same readers.

Writing in the military journal *Parameters* in 2001, Peters declared, "Historically, instability abroad has been to America's advantage." The Spanish-American War, he

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argues, was one of the great watersheds in U.S. history, heralding both the welcome death of the old European empires and the rise of America as a global power. "With that war," he writes, "we became an imperial power, if a benign one, thus denying our heritage as the key anti-imperial power in history." Today, he argues, Washington has an opportunity to fuse its military might with its anti-imperial origins, by using its armed forces to bring self-government to people suffering under repressive regimes.

reason: Is stability an important foreign policy goal?

Ralph Peters: There are certainly times when stability is very important. But not always.

I just came back from South Africa and Zimbabwe. South Africa right now is very worried about stability in Zimbabwe, because they don't want a flood of refugees coming to the south. And so they're supporting Robert Mugabe, a nasty dictator. But in fact, the longer Mugabe rules, the greater the clash may be—and South Africa may have a greater flood of refugees.

In the United States, because of our short-term election cycles, we tend to want near-term solutions. So there's always the temptation to go with the "stability now" option that ends up being detrimental to U.S. interests. Take Iran in the 1950s. We were absolutely obsessed with stability, to the point that we helped depose a prime minister, Mossadeq, who was a lefty but not really a menace. Or take some of the regimes we supported in Latin America. There was simply no way that the Soviet Union was going to take over Paraguay or Brazil and use it as a launching pad to attack the U.S. But we were very tolerant of extremely repressive regimes, because they were "our" dictators. The Cold War's over. We don't need to do that anymore.

We've supported oppressor regimes in Indonesia for mining rights, in the Middle East for oil rights, and so on. Bad move. In the short term, supporting human rights in a place like Saudi Arabia may mean that the Saudis give their oil contract to someone else or crack down even harder or deny us bases. In the short term, that's painful. But in the long term, supporting human rights is not only morally correct, it's good for business and foreign policy. It's much easier to do business with people whose human rights struggle you've supported.

I support the Iraq campaign strongly on human rights grounds: the liberation of the Iraqi people and

the example it sets for other dictators that they literally cannot get away with murder. If that sets a new pattern, it's going to change absolutely all of the rules. It will put dictators on notice that they cannot slaughter their own people with impunity and then hide behind sovereignty. To me, the only legitimate reason that should allow a state to claim full sovereignty would be that the government is of the people, by the people, and for the people.

reason: That hinges on what emerges after Saddam, doesn't it? There's a tension between the drive to democratize and the feeling we should just bring in a loyal regime.

Peters: Of course. And anyone who expects a perfect result is foolish, because this isn't a perfect world. In the first few months, there's going to be confusion and retributions. Everyone's going to rush to declare defeat—to declare that the occupation, the rebuilding, is failing. That's just the way our 24/7 media works.

You have to stand back and take a long-term view. In Afghanistan in the first few months, you had all these reports that Afghanistan was falling apart. It wasn't true. Is Afghanistan perfect today? No—it's still Afghanistan, for God's sake. But it is a safer, more peaceful place than it was before we intervened.

You cannot expect that Iraq will suddenly turn into one big New England town meeting. But we can expect a state will emerge in which the people have a greater role, moving *toward* democracy; in which human rights are observed; in which minorities have protections; in which the market, not merely a ruling family, rules the economy.

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Ralph Peters: I support the Iraq campaign strongly on human rights grounds: the liberation of the Iraqi people and the example it sets for other dictators that they literally cannot get away with murder.

reason: How easy is it to liberalize or democratize a country from the outside?

Peters: I do not believe that anyone can successfully impose democracy from the outside. What we can do, with our allies, is give people the opportunity to construct their own democracy. We cannot design the Iraq of the future. We can create an environment in which Iraqis design the Iraq of the future. And they'll work through the growing pains.

One of the crucial reasons why authoritarian regimes like Syria, Saudi Arabia, and Egypt are so opposed to our going into Iraq is because they fear the example of an Arab state that's reasonably democratic, has a market economy, observes human rights, and has a free press. That is more terrifying to Mr. Assad or Mr. Mubarak than Saddam is. The Saudis are even afraid of the gradual liberalization we've seen in Qatar.

reason: For most Americans, the No. 1 foreign policy concern is our safety. One of the reasons 9/11 happened is because the United States has been involved in these battles in the past and has made enemies in the process. We're going to make a lot more enemies this way, and a lot of the enemies we're going to make have a history of alliances with terrorists. So even if this is better for Iraq in the long run, and maybe even destabilizes these other dictatorships, couldn't you be reducing U.S. security?

Peters: I disagree entirely with that. First of all, 9/11 happened because of cultural divides. The United States is hated for its success, for its liberal policies, for the roles it allows for women. The United States' presence in Saudi Arabia and elsewhere in the Arab world matters, but it's a secondary issue.

As for making more enemies: Under President Clinton, our enemies were allowed to see the United States as weak-willed. The world has to learn about American resolve. If you are perceived as strong, then the fellow travelers and also-rans *don't* sign up to oppose you.

There will always be hard-core enemies of the greatest power. But this idea that if we just retreat to Fortress America and don't get involved anywhere, they won't come after us, is wrong. The terrorists' hatred is really about their internal demons and not so much about America. They're coming after us anyway. And the best defense is a good offense.

reason: Isn't there a difference between going after people who've proved their intentions toward America, such as Al Qaeda, and fighting people who haven't attacked us?

Peters: When it comes to America's security—and that of its allies, because we're all interrelated—you have to act vigorously. And pre-emption is important. When people openly want to kill as many Americans as possible, you can't just sit on your farm and wait for it to happen.

The rules are changing. What we're doing here—and this is one reason I think this war is such an epochal event—is we're casting off sets of rules that were designed from the 17th through the 20th centuries in Europe. They don't work anymore. Enough. It's as silly as having France on the United Nations Security Council when obviously India should be there instead.

reason: Let me ask you about one of those rules. You've raised the idea of assassination as an alternative to war. Right now, that violates international law.

Peters: The problem is with the word *assassination*. It brings the image of Lee Harvey Oswald or John Wilkes Booth. So give me a new word.

You may decry it instinctively. But wouldn't the world be better off had we been able simply to kill Saddam Hussein, his two sons, and a dozen of his top henchmen? Wouldn't it be better to kill 13 to 15 people than to have a massive war that no matter how cleanly executed will still cause human casualties, dislocation, and suffering?

The rule against assassination was an agreement among kings, emperors, czars: "Well, we may take Alsace or Lorraine, but we won't eliminate the ruling

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family. Live and let live among us kings." It even made practical sense to the extent that, in the past, armies didn't have the ability to reach beyond the other foot soldiers and get at the king. Well, increasingly, we *have* that ability—instead of killing the draftees, to kill the guilty.

What do human rights really mean? Is it our job to protect the human rights of one dictator while 22 million people suffer? Or is it more commonsensical to protect the rights of 22 million people and get rid of the dictator?

The Realist: Benjamin Schwarz

Benjamin Schwarz, 39, is a former staffer at the RAND Corporation, a former executive editor of *World Policy Journal*, and the current literary editor of *The Atlantic Monthly*. The most cogent statement of his foreign policy views is "A New Grand Strategy," written with foreign policy analyst Christopher Layne and published in *The Atlantic* in January 2002. There and elsewhere, he and Layne have argued that the United States should reduce its commitments around the world and allow other powers to maintain their own spheres of influence. The result, they argue, would be a safer and more stable world.

reason: You've written that "the very preponderance of American power may now make us not more secure but less secure."

Benjamin Schwarz: There has never been a power as dominant as the United States today. As we see with the international opposition to what the United States is taking on in Iraq, that power itself makes other countries nervous. Eventually, you run the risk of a combination of states forming in opposition to America. For now our power may make us more secure and advance our interests in the world, but it creates a situation in which our interests are thwarted and other powers form a coalition against us.

Clearly, the more we muck around in the Middle East, the more we are going to be a lightning rod for the grievances of the people in the area. That's even if we do, in fact, build a prosperous and democratic Iraq. We helped build a prosperous and democratic Israel, and it's now seen as a Western outpost in the Middle East. For American security, this is a part of the world that we should just stay away from if it's at all possible. The fact that we haven't stayed away from it in the past has exacerbated the ill feelings directed toward the United States. A lot of Osama bin Laden's anger toward the United States is clearly related to the first Gulf War—that we brought troops into Saudi Arabia. Just in itself, even though this military presence is extremely unobtrusive, it still angers a great many Muslims. The fact that we have launched what will be seen in the Arab world as an aggressive war against an Arab regime will anger people more.

reason: The president obviously isn't following the strategy you and Layne laid out. Is it possible to shift gears right now?

Schwarz: I don't think so. Now that the United States has assumed this role of disarming Iraq, it's very difficult for it to tell other countries that it will look to other powers to police those regions of the world that they're particularly concerned with themselves.

You can't say, after conducting this war in the face of tremendous international opposition, "All right, guys, you take care of the mess." They would say, and they would be correct to say, "Why should we take care of this? You created the mess, you clean it up yourself." If the United States believes that a reconstructed Iraq is an important national security interest for the United States, it's going to have to do that largely for itself.

reason: One argument people have made for the Iraq war is that it *is* a matter of cleaning up a mess. The United States helped build up Saddam. Even if in the long term it would be a good idea for the United States to reduce its presence in the Middle East, they say, it has a moral obligation to remove the tyrant it aided.

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Benjamin Schwarz: The more we muck around in the Middle East, the more we are going to be a lightning rod for the grievances of the people in the area.

Schwarz: Yes. Christopher Hitchens makes this argument. I don't buy it, but I understand it.

reason: Why don't you buy it?

Schwarz: Washington didn't say, "We want a nasty, bloody dictator to take control of Iraq." The reason we supported Saddam years ago is because we were worried about Iran, so we threw our support to Iraq as a counterbalance. It's not as if we *liked* him, or encouraged him to torture and rape. We supported him for our own geopolitical reasons, and countries are allowed to do that without incurring a moral obligation.

On the other hand, I fail to understand how people could support U.S. action in Kosovo for moralistic reasons and then not support action in Iraq. I mean, clearly this is a far more bloody and terrible regime.

I'm an opponent of this war, but I don't understand why most of the people who are opposed to it take that stance. The strategy Chris Layne and I outlined is one where you'd accept that other regional powers would develop military capabilities that we are now not comfortable with. Chris and I are perfectly willing to accept that world. The U.S. foreign policy establishment isn't willing to accept that world, and I can understand their reasons. But if you don't want that world—if you think that, de facto, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction is a bad thing—then I don't understand how you could oppose this war. Sanctions only worked because there were a quarter of a million troops on Iraq's border. Obviously, we can't keep those troops there forever. So if you're worried about Iraq acquiring certain military capabilities, it would seem to me that you have to be willing to go to war to prevent that.

reason: Do you think pre-emptive war is ever justified?

Schwarz: If a power believes it's threatened by another state, there's no reason it should have to wait for that other state to launch an attack on it. Bush's rhetoric, I think, is completely right—it's just wrong in this particular situation. He is responsible for the security and well-being of the American people, and if there were a mortal danger to the United States, it's his obligation to meet that challenge.

reason: Your basic argument is that a multipolar world is probably inevitable, so it's better if the United States takes the lead in establishing it while we still have a chance to say who the other powers will be and how they'll be allied.

Schwarz: This tremendous power we have presents us with an opportunity to, in an orderly and well-thought-out way, somewhat disengage militarily from the world.

There isn't a single power that exercises control or dominance over the Middle East. That's one of the reasons why it's a messy area. But if you encouraged Russia to take care of the area that's adjacent to it, and India to take care of the area that's adjacent to it, and so on, we would have a more stable situation. Europe has a greater stake in a stable oil supply from that area than does the United States, and in the long run you'd want Europe to do some of the policing there as well.

reason: Europe failed to intervene decisively in the Balkans before the United States got involved, and that was in their own backyard. Why would you expect them to deal with instability in the Middle East, when they obviously didn't want to intervene there either?

Schwarz: That's a disingenuous argument, because the United States has never wanted Europe to play a powerful and independent role in world politics, or to develop the kind of military capabilities it would need to police its sphere. Because that would create a more—from the U.S. point of view—unstable situation, where you have different great powers with somewhat competing interests. There's no reason to assume that Europe's interests will always be America's interests. And while I think that the United States would always be able to challenge a united Europe, that would be at a very high cost.

reason: I can imagine lots of people listening to you and saying, "That sounds pretty awful. The United States should be able to get what it wants. It acquired all this power for itself, and that means it's able to project its

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will in ways that benefit Americans. What's wrong with that?"

Schwarz: If the United States could establish and maintain that position indefinitely, then the answer is, "Nothing." The problem is, it doesn't make us more secure. I mean, Argentina was part of the coalition in the first Gulf War. But Al Qaeda doesn't view Argentina as a mortal enemy the way it does the United States.

France and Russia are opposed to what the United States wants to do in Iraq largely because they're worried about an America that's throwing its weight around the world. China is too. Now, those powers haven't coalesced in a way that is truly dangerous to the United States. But there's no reason to assume that in 20 or 30 years they won't, if the United States maintains its position.

reason: The other hot spot right now is Korea.

Schwarz: This is a small area of the world where countries with advanced economies are cheek by jowl, with competing interests. There is no reason, though, to make that dangerous neighborhood into *our* dangerous neighborhood. If American troops were withdrawn, why would North Korea challenge the United States? If either North Korea or a united Korea had nuclear weapons, it's going to have plenty to worry about, because its immediate neighbors also have nuclear weapons.

The idea that a Korean state has nuclear weapons does not in itself alarm me. A nuclear-armed Korea or Koreans is something that would make the *Japanese* nervous, and is one of many reasons Japan should have its own nuclear capability.

reason: Right now, South Korea and Japan are almost entirely dependent militarily on the United States. Doesn't that mean you'd be giving Russia and China not just the ability to dominate North Korea but the ability to dominate South Korea and Japan?

Schwarz: They don't need our assistance. The conventional understanding is that Japan could develop a nuclear capability very quickly.

The United States could play a positive role in some of this. There are ways that we can help these other powers enhance their command and control capabilities, ways we can help them enhance deterrence. And I think we should. This is a perfect example of how the United States can enter into productive international relationships that will enhance peace without playing the role of global gendarme.

The Pacifist: Gene Sharp

In countless essays and books—most notably *The Politics of Nonviolence* (1973) and *Social Power and Political Freedom* (1980)—Gene Sharp, 75, has investigated the many ways citizens have overthrown dictatorships and repelled invaders through organized, nonviolent noncooperation. (His next book, not yet completed, will explore 23 such case studies.) His life's work has been to synthesize these historical experiments into a body of strategic theory, so that dissidents under other tyrannies can overturn their rulers as well.

The chief outlet for this work is the Albert Einstein Institution, where he is senior scholar. Sharp has given on-site advice to dissidents as well, from nonviolent protests in the West Bank to the successful independence movements in Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia.

reason: Is pre-emptive war ever justified?

Gene Sharp: It's mostly kind of stupid. Because you don't *need* it. If we had been spreading the know-how of nonviolent struggle throughout the Arab world, things would be different.

There are significant Arab and Muslim nonviolent noncooperation movements. There have been in the past. The Pakhtuns lived in the northwest frontier province of British India; they're very tough cookies. And they adopted nonviolent struggle against British rule. Gandhi said that was better than what the Hindus had been doing in the rest of India.

reason: Suppose George W. Bush called you the day before the war and said: "All right, I'm listening. What are some peaceful ways that Iraq might become a more democratic society?" What would you say to him?

Sharp: That he should have called me a few years ago. If you're on the edge of the cliff, it's a little hard to say, "Turn a sharp right."

But there are other ways of getting rid of dictatorships. Karl Deutsch, the political scientist, pointed to the fact that even totalitarian systems have weaknesses. One has to encourage the people in the country to focus on identifying those weaknesses and then concentrating resistance on those, rather than trying to fight them where they're strongest, which under most circumstances is militarily.

reason: What are some examples of these weaknesses?

Sharp: Legitimacy, for one thing. One thing that the Otpor resistance movement in Serbia did was undermine Milosevic's legitimacy, so he no longer had authority.

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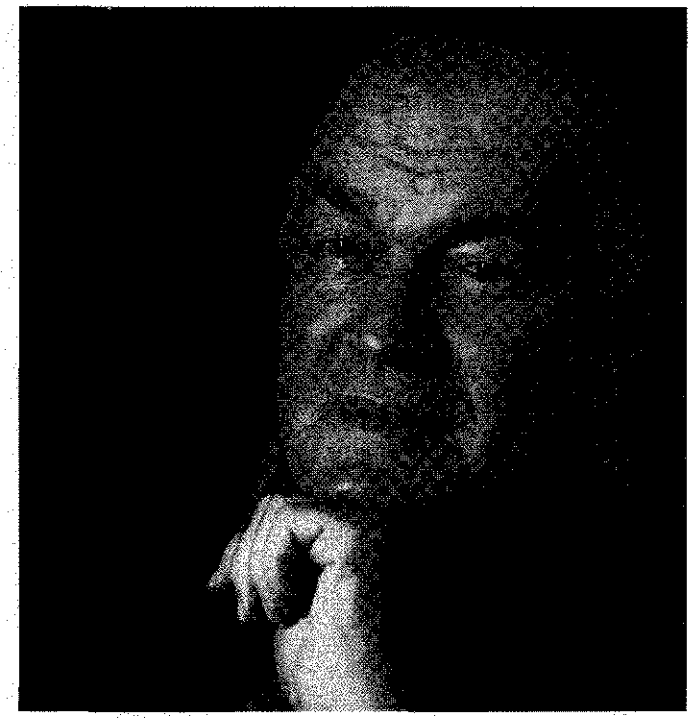

They worked on undermining the reliability of the police and the troops, so they would not obey orders for extreme repression. Slowing down the reliability of the bureaucracy and civil servants. People not obeying, not cooperating.

reason: Suppose Bush says: "Well, maybe that would work. But we've got superior military force. We can defeat this dictator. Why is what you're talking about better?"

Sharp: I would argue that it's more practical. And it would produce a better society.

reason: How so?

Sharp: The democratization experience of people participating in resistance diffuses power in the society. In Serbia the Allied forces did lots of bombing and destruction of bridges and so forth, but that didn't do in Milosevic. It was the organization of popular resistance that did.

You can destroy all kinds of things with war and bombs. To actually change to a more democratic system is always difficult, but you have a better chance with this sort of resistance that depends on the participation of the people and building up the strength of institutions that are outside state control.

reason: A lot of revolutionary transformations—I guess the most obvious example would be the American Revolution—are a mixture of the two approaches. You have this rise of parallel institutions, and you have a military conflict as well.

Sharp: Those were sequential. The building of the alternative institutions, and the formulation of three major massive noncooperation campaigns from 1764 to 1775—there was next to no military resistance then. There was no major fighting against British troops until after Lexington and Concord. We [the Albert Einstein Institution] did a book on those 10 years, requiring about eight years of research: *Resistance, Politics, and the American Struggle for Independence, 1765–1775*.

It's a very remarkable 10 years of struggle. British governors wrote to their superiors in London things like, "Everything was OK when I got here; now I have no power outside of my own house." Because the people had organized all these institutions, even governments, completely independent of English authority.

reason: The civilian-based resistance that you're talking about is rooted in independent civic institutions. Is there any way those can be advanced by an outside power? Or is it something that has to come from within?

Sharp: It has to come from within, but outside groups can assist in careful ways. For one thing, by spreading the know-how of this kind of struggle—the ways it works, the importance of strategic planning. In Serbia someone we work with very closely—a former Army colonel, Robert Helvey—conducted a workshop in nonviolent struggle in Budapest, when it couldn't be held in Serbia.

reason: Do you think there's a role for Washington here?

Sharp: There was an article two years ago about the Serbia case, by Roger Cohen in *The New York Times Magazine*, that rather exaggerated the amount of U.S. government money that went in to finance parts of the Serbian resistance. If there's going to be governmental involvement, it has to be done very carefully. It can be dangerous, because not everybody in government understands very much about nonviolent struggle. And they may offer advice that is stupid and dangerous.

reason: How?

Sharp: Most governments think that violence is the real power. They try to train opposition groups in guerrilla warfare or supply them with guns, and things like that can be very bad. They don't always appreciate the practical importance of keeping nonviolent discipline, so that the popular resistance will win fights with its own best weapons, which are not military.

reason: How can free societies protect themselves from the ambitions of tyrants?

Sharp: We need to learn, number one, how to prevent

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Gene Sharp: It's a nonsense assumption that you can get rid of terrorism with war. Terrorism is taking the lives of innocent people to gain your objective. War is basically the same thing on a larger scale.

the rise of new dictatorships. Just a few weeks ago, we republished something on coup resistance. A coup d'etat is how Saddam Hussein came into power. So how can you block coups, where a military group or a political minority like the Bolsheviks seizes the state apparatus?

Another way that military regimes expand is through military aggression. So we've done work on defense based on noncooperation and defiance, what we call civilian-based defense. I've been working on that for about 40 years.

reason: So what are some of the methods you're talking about? How do you stop invasions and coups?

Sharp: Refusal of collaboration. If they issue orders, you don't obey them. You do not allow your bureaucracy and civil servants to be taken over and then obey orders. You don't let your police obey orders from the new would-be dictator. It's blockage of control by noncooperation and disobedience—a persistent maintenance of the independence, the autonomy, of civil society.

These aren't ideas out of thin air. These are all rooted in historical experiences where people improvised resistance. We asked how you could consciously prepare people and lay plans for keeping the government and civil institutions out of invaders' hands. How you'd educate the population about the danger signals, and when we need to launch noncooperation and civil disobedience and strikes.

reason: How could civilian-based defense resist terrorism? I don't see how noncooperation could be useful in dealing with someone who's blowing up a café.

Sharp: No, it's not. Of course.

There would be several possibilities. One is to spread the know-how for nonviolent struggle so widely that the people who now end up being terrorists don't. They choose to use this other method.

There was no terrorism in Poland, in the struggle against the Soviet Union and the indigenous Communist government. There was no terrorism in Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania. There was no terrorism in Serbia. Because they chose a different way to struggle.

I think it's a nonsense assumption that you can get rid of terrorism with war. Because terrorism is taking the lives of noncombatants, innocent people, to gain your objective. War is basically the same thing on a larger scale. And using military means to fight against terrorism simply teaches future terrorists that they weren't cruel *enough*. That they didn't kill *enough*.

If you don't want them to use terrorism as their means of fighting, you have to make it clear that there are alternatives.

reason: But once a group has already started using terrorism—once planes collided with the World Trade Center—you've passed a boundary. How do you respond to an attack like that?

Sharp: That's a little bit like, "How many feet are you from the cliff?"

reason: Let me rephrase the question, then. Once you're on the cliff, what can someone who wants to stop the terror do?

Sharp: I don't have the answers. I'm not sure anyone else does either. Under those kind of circumstances—once the bomb's already been dropped from the airplane and it's on the way down, what do you do? It's that kind of a situation. Of course you have to do things to deal with casualties and take care of people and all that.

reason: How would you describe your politics?

Sharp: I think everything from political structure to the scale of governments has to be re-examined. I think the unification of all Europe under one government is really very unfortunate, for example. I lived in England and Norway, back and forth, for 10 years, and I appreciate relatively small countries. Putting all the populations of Europe under one government—which has to be military, which has to have police, which has to have a massive inaccessible bureaucracy, where people have little control over the central government—that's really crazy. ■

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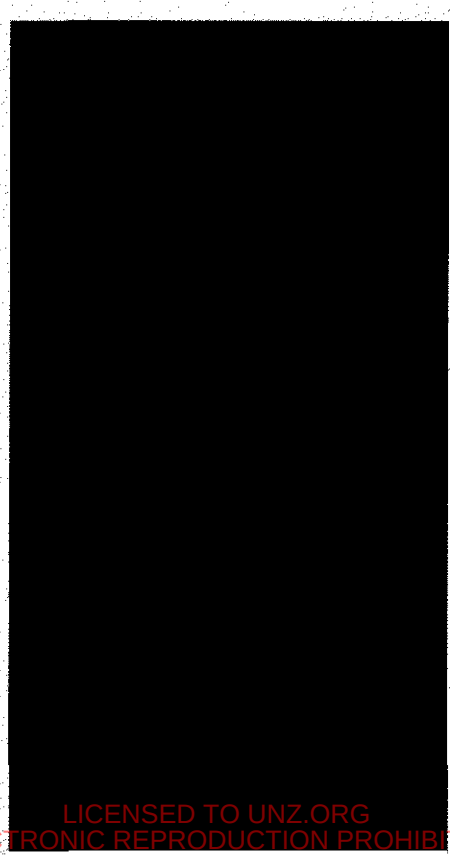
The surprising truth about heroin and addiction

Jacob Sullum



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In 1992 *The New York Times* carried a front-page story about a successful businessman who happened to be a regular heroin user. It began: "He is an executive in a company in New York, lives in a condo on the Upper East Side of Manhattan, drives an expensive car, plays tennis in the Hamptons and vacations with his wife in Europe and the Caribbean. But unknown to office colleagues, friends, and most of his family, the man is also a long-time heroin user. He says he finds heroin relaxing and pleasurable and has seen no reason to stop using it until the woman he recently married insisted that he do so. 'The drug is an enhancement of my life,' he said. 'I see it as similar to a guy coming home and having a drink of alcohol. Only alcohol has never done it for me.'"

The *Times* noted that "nearly everything about the 44-year-old executive...seems to fly in the face of widely held perceptions about heroin users." The reporter who wrote the story and his editors seemed uncomfortable with contradicting official anti-drug propaganda, which depicts heroin use as incompatible with a satisfying, productive life. The headline read, "Executive's Secret Struggle With Heroin's Powerful Grip," which sounds more like a cautionary tale than a success story. And the *Times* hastened to add that heroin users "are flirting with disaster." It

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conceded that "heroin does not damage the organs as, for instance, heavy alcohol use does." But it cited the risk of arrest, overdose, AIDS, and hepatitis—without noting that all of these risks are created or exacerbated by prohibition.

The general thrust of the piece was: Here is a privileged man who is tempting fate by messing around with a very dangerous drug. He may have escaped disaster so far, but unless he quits he will probably end up dead or in prison.

That is not the way the businessman saw his situation. He said he had decided to give up heroin only because his wife did not approve of the habit. "In my heart," he said, "I really don't feel there's anything wrong with using heroin. But there doesn't seem to be any way in the world I can persuade my wife to grant me this space in our relationship. I don't want to lose her, so I'm making this effort."

Judging from the "widely held perceptions about heroin users" mentioned by the *Times*, that effort was bound to fail. The conventional view of heroin, which powerfully shapes the popular understanding of addiction, is nicely summed up in the journalist Martin Booth's 1996 history of opium. "Addiction is the compulsive taking of drugs which have such a hold over the addict he or she cannot stop using them without suffering severe symptoms and even death," he writes. "Opiate dependence...is as fundamental to an addict's existence as food and water, a physio-chemical fact: an addict's body is chemically reliant upon its drug for opiates actually alter the body's chemistry so it cannot function properly without being periodically primed. A hunger for the drug forms when the quantity in the bloodstream falls below a certain level....Fail to feed the body and it deteriorates and may die from drug starvation." Booth also declares that "everyone...is a potential addict"; that "addiction can start with the very first dose"; and that "with continued use addiction is a certainty."

Booth's description is wrong or grossly misleading in every particular. To understand why is to recognize the fallacies underlying a reductionist, drug-centered view of addiction in which chemicals force themselves on people—a view that skeptics such as the maverick psychiatrist Thomas Szasz and the psychologist Stanton Peele have long questioned. The idea that a drug can compel the person who consumes it to continue consuming it is one of the most important beliefs underlying the war on drugs, because this power makes possible all the other evils to which drug use supposedly leads.

When Martin Booth tells us that anyone can be addicted to heroin, that it may take just one dose, and that it will certainly happen to you if you're foolish enough to repeat the experiment, he is drawing on a long tradition of anti-drug propaganda. As the sociologist Harry G. Levine has shown, the original model for such warnings was not heroin or opium but alcohol. "The idea that drugs are inherently addicting," Levine wrote in 1978, "was first systematically worked out for alcohol and then extended to other substances. Long before opium was popularly accepted as addicting, alcohol was so regarded." The dry crusaders of the 19th and early 20th centuries taught that every tippler was a potential drunkard, that a glass of beer was the first step on the road to ruin, and that repeated use of distilled spirits made addiction virtually inevitable. Today, when a kitchen wrecked by a skinny model wielding a frying pan is supposed to symbolize the havoc caused by a snort of heroin, similar assumptions about opiates are even more widely held, and they likewise are based more on faith than facts.

Withdrawal Penalty

Beginning early in the 20th century, Stanton Peele notes, heroin "came to be seen in American society as the nonpareil drug of addiction—as leading inescapably from even the most casual contact to an intractable dependence, withdrawal from which was traumatic and unthinkable for the addict." According to this view, reflected in Booth's gloss and other popular portrayals, the potentially fatal agony of withdrawal is the gun that heroin holds to the addict's head. These accounts greatly exaggerate both the severity and the importance of withdrawal symptoms.

Heroin addicts who abruptly stop using the drug commonly report flu-like symptoms, which may include chills, sweating, runny nose and eyes, muscular aches, stomach cramps, nausea, diarrhea, or headaches. While certainly unpleasant, the experience is not life threatening. Indeed, addicts who have developed tolerance (needing higher doses to achieve the same effect) often voluntarily undergo withdrawal so they can begin using heroin again at a lower dose, thereby reducing the cost of their habit. Another sign that fear of withdrawal symptoms is not the essence of addiction is the fact that heroin users commonly drift in and out of their habits, going through periods of abstinence and returning to the drug long after any physical discomfort has faded away. Indeed, the observation that detoxification is not tantamount to overcoming an addiction, that addicts typically will try repeatedly before successfully kicking the habit, is a commonplace of drug treatment.

More evidence that withdrawal has been overemphasized as a motivation for using opiates comes from patients who take narcotic painkillers over extended periods of time.

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Like heroin addicts, they develop "physical dependence" and experience withdrawal symptoms when they stop taking the drugs. But studies conducted during the last two decades have consistently found that patients in pain who receive opioids (opiates or synthetics with similar effects) rarely become addicted.

Pain experts emphasize that physical dependence should not be confused with addiction, which requires a psychological component: a persistent desire to use the substance for its mood-altering effects. Critics have long complained that unreasonable fears about narcotic addiction discourage adequate pain treatment. In 1989 Charles Schuster, then director of the National Institute on Drug Abuse, confessed, "We have been so effective in warning the medical establishment and the public in general about the inappropriate use of opiates that we have endowed these drugs with a mysterious power to enslave that is overrated."

Although popular perceptions lag behind, the point made by pain specialists—that "physical dependence" is not the same as addiction—is now widely accepted by professionals who deal with drug problems. But under the heroin-based model that prevailed until the 1970s, tolerance and withdrawal symptoms were considered the hallmarks of addiction. By this standard, drugs such as nicotine and cocaine were not truly addictive; they were merely "habituating." That distinction proved untenable, given the difficulty that people often had in giving up substances that were not considered addictive.

Having hijacked the term *addiction*, which in its original sense referred to any strong habit, psychiatrists ultimately abandoned it in favor of *substance dependence*. "The essential feature of Substance Dependence," according to the American Psychiatric Association, "is a cluster of cognitive, behavioral, and physiological symptoms indicating that the individual continues use of the substance despite significant substance-related problems....Neither tolerance nor withdrawal is necessary or sufficient for a diagnosis of Substance Dependence." Instead, the condition is defined as "a maladaptive pattern of substance use" involving at least three of seven features. In addition to tolerance and withdrawal, these include using more of the drug than intended; trying unsuccessfully to cut back; spending a lot of time getting the drug, using it, or recovering from its effects; giving up or reducing important social, occupational, or recreational activities because of drug use; and continuing use even while recognizing drug-related psychological or physical problems.

One can quibble with these criteria, especially since they are meant to be applied not by the drug user himself but by a government-licensed expert with whose judgment he may disagree. The possibility of such a conflict is all the more troubling because the evaluation may be involuntary (the result of an arrest, for example) and may have implications for the drug user's freedom. More fundamentally, classifying substance dependence as a "mental disorder" to be treated by medical doctors suggests that drug abuse is a disease, something that happens to people rather than something that people do. Yet it is clear from the description that we are talking about a pattern of behavior. Addiction is not simply a matter of introducing a chemical into someone's body, even if it is done often enough to create tolerance and withdrawal symptoms. Conversely, someone who takes a steady dose of a drug and who can stop using it without physical distress may still be addicted to it.

Simply Irresistible?

Even if addiction is not a physical compulsion, perhaps some drug experiences are so alluring that people find it impossible to resist them. Certainly that is heroin's reputation, encapsulated in the title of a 1972 book: *It's So Good, Don't Even Try It Once*.

The fact that heroin use is so rare—involving, according to the government's data, something like 0.2 percent of the U.S. population in 2001—suggests that its appeal is much more limited than we've been led to believe. If heroin really is "so good," why does it have such a tiny share of the illegal drug market? Marijuana is more than 45 times as popular. The National Household Survey on Drug Abuse indicates that about 3 million Americans have used heroin in their lifetimes; of them, 15 percent had used it in the last year, 4 percent in the last month. These numbers suggest that the vast majority of heroin users either never become addicted or, if they do, manage to give the drug up. A survey of high school seniors found that 1 percent had used heroin in the previous year, while 0.1 percent had used it on 20 or more days in the previous month. Assuming that daily use is a reasonable proxy for opiate addiction, one in 10 of the students who had taken heroin in the last year might have qualified as addicts. These are not the sort of numbers you'd expect for a drug that's irresistible.

True, these surveys exclude certain groups in which heroin use is more common and in which a larger percentage of users probably could be described as addicts. The household survey misses people living on the street, in prisons, and in residential drug treatment programs,

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while the high school survey leaves out truants and dropouts. But even for the entire population of heroin users, the estimated addiction rates do not come close to matching heroin's reputation. A 1976 study by the drug researchers Leon G. Hunt and Carl D. Chambers estimated there were 3 or 4 million heroin users in the United States, perhaps 10 percent of them addicts. "Of all active heroin users," Hunt and Chambers wrote, "a large majority are not addicts: they are not physically or socially dysfunctional; they are not daily users and they do not seem to require treatment." A 1994 study based on data from the National Comorbidity Survey estimated that 23 percent of heroin users ever experience substance dependence.

Despite its reputation, heroin is neither irresistible nor inescapable. A large majority of those who use it never become addicted.

The comparable rate for alcohol in that study was 15 percent, which seems to support the idea that heroin is more addictive: A larger percentage of the people who try it become heavy users, even though it's harder to get. At the same time, the fact that using heroin is illegal, expensive, risky, inconvenient, and almost universally condemned means that the people who nevertheless choose to do it repeatedly will tend to differ from people who choose to drink. They will be especially attracted to heroin's effects, the associated lifestyle, or both. In other words, heroin users are a self-selected group, less representative of the general population than alcohol users are, and they may be more inclined from the outset to form strong attachments to the drug.

The same study found that 32 percent of tobacco users had experienced substance dependence. Figures like that one are the basis for the claim that nicotine is "more addictive than heroin." After all, cigarette smokers typically go through a pack or so a day, so they're under the influence of nicotine every waking moment. Heroin users typically do not use their drug even once a day. Smokers offended by this comparison are quick to point out that they function fine, meeting their responsibilities at work and home, despite their habit. This, they assume, is impossible for heroin users. Examples like the businessman described by *The New York Times* indicate otherwise.

Still, it's true that nicotine's psychoactive effects are easier to reconcile with the requirements of everyday life than heroin's are. Indeed, nicotine can enhance concentration and improve performance on certain tasks. So one important reason why most cigarette smokers consume their drug throughout the day is that they can do so without running into trouble. And because they're used to smoking in so many different settings, they may find nicotine harder to give up than a drug they use only with certain people in secret. In one survey, 57 percent of drug users entering a Canadian treatment program said giving up their problem substance (not necessarily heroin) would be easier than giving up cigarettes. In another survey, 36 heroin users entering treatment were asked to compare their strongest cigarette urge to their strongest heroin urge. Most said the heroin urge was stronger, but two said the cigarette urge was, and 11 rated the two urges about the same.

In a sense, nicotine's compatibility with a wide range of tasks makes it more addictive than alcohol or heroin.

Yet heroin is still perceived as the paradigmatic voodoo drug, turning its users into zombies who must obey its commands.

But this is not the sort of thing people usually have in mind when they worry about addiction. Indeed, if it weren't for the health effects of smoking (and the complaints of bystanders exposed to the smoke), nicotine addiction probably would be seen as no big deal, just as caffeine addiction is. As alternative sources of nicotine that do not involve smoking (gum, patches, inhalers, beverages, lozenges, oral snuff) become popular not just as aids in quitting but as long-term replacements, it will be interesting to see whether they will be socially accepted. Once the health risks are dramatically reduced or eliminated, will daily consumption of nicotine still be viewed as shameful and déclassé, as a disease to be treated or a problem to be overcome? Perhaps so, if addiction

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per se is the issue. But not if it's the medical, social, and psychological consequences of addiction that really matter.

The Needle and the Damage Done

To a large extent, regular heroin use also can be separated from the terrible consequences that have come to be associated with it. Because of prohibition, users face the risk of arrest and imprisonment, the handicap of a criminal record, and the violence associated with the black market. The artificially high price of heroin, perhaps 40 or 50 times what it would otherwise cost, may lead to heavy debts, housing problems, poor nutrition, and theft. The inflated cost also encourages users to inject the drug, a more efficient but riskier mode of administration. The legal treatment of injection equipment, including restrictions on distribution and penalties for possession, encourages needle sharing, which spreads diseases such as AIDS and hepatitis. The unreliable quality and unpredictable purity associated with the black market can lead to poisoning and accidental overdoses.

Without prohibition, then, a daily heroin habit would be far less burdensome and hazardous. Heroin itself is much less likely to kill a user than the reckless combination of heroin with other depressants, such as alcohol or barbiturates. The federal government's Drug Abuse Warning Network counted 4,820 mentions of heroin or morphine (which are indistinguishable in the blood) by medical examiners in 1999. Only 438 of these deaths (9 percent) were listed as directly caused by an overdose of the opiate. Three-quarters of the deaths were caused by heroin/morphine in combination with other drugs. Provided the user avoids such mixtures, has access to a supply of reliable purity, and follows sanitary injection procedures, the health risks of long-term opiate consumption are minimal.

The comparison between heroin and nicotine is also instructive when it comes to the role of drug treatment. Although many smokers have a hard time quitting, those who succeed generally do so on their own. Surprisingly, the same may be true of heroin addicts. In the early 1960s, based on records kept by the Federal Bureau of Narcotics, sociologist Charles Winick concluded that narcotic addicts tend to "mature out" of the habit in their 30s. He suggested that "addiction may be a self limiting process for perhaps two-thirds of addicts." Subsequent researchers have questioned Winick's assumptions, and other studies have come up with lower estimates. But it's clear that "natural recovery" is much more common than the public has been led to believe.

In a 1974 study of Vietnam veterans, only 12 percent of those who were addicted to heroin in Vietnam took up the habit again during the three years after their return to the United States. (This was not because they couldn't find heroin; half of them used it at least once after their return, generally without becoming addicted again.) Those who had undergone treatment (half of the group) were just as likely to be re-addicted as those who had not. Since those with stronger addictions were more likely to receive treatment, this does not necessarily mean that treatment was useless, but it clearly was not a prerequisite for giving up heroin.

Despite its reputation, then, heroin is neither irresistible nor inescapable. Only a very small share of the population ever uses it, and a large majority of those who do never become addicted. Even within the minority who develop a daily habit, most manage to stop using heroin, often without professional intervention. Yet heroin is still perceived as the paradigmatic voodoo drug, ineluctably turning its users into zombies who must obey its commands.

Heroin in Moderation

The idea that drugs cause addiction was rejected in the case of alcohol because it was so clearly at odds with everyday experience, which showed that the typical drinker was not an alcoholic. But what the psychologist Bruce Alexander calls "the myth of drug-induced addiction" is still widely accepted in the case of heroin—and, by extension, the drugs compared to it (see sidebar)—because moderate opiate users are hard to find. That does not mean they don't exist; indeed, judging from the government's survey results, they are a lot more common than addicts. It's just that people who use opiates in a controlled way are inconspicuous by definition, and keen to remain so.

In the early 1960s, however, researchers began to tentatively identify users of heroin and other opiates who were not addicts. "Surprisingly enough," a Northwestern University psychiatrist wrote in 1961, "in some cases at least, narcotic use may be confined to weekends or parties and the users may be able to continue in gainful employment for some time. Although this pattern often deteriorates and the rate of use increases, several cases have been observed in which relatively gainful and steady employment has been maintained for two to three years while the user was on what might be called a regulated or controlled habit."

A few years later, Harvard psychiatrist Norman Zinberg and David C. Lewis, then a medical resident, described »

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Smackdown!

Which drug is most addictive?

Jacob Sullum

No substance can be taken seriously as an addictive drug until it is compared to heroin. That is why *Newsweek*, when it sought to stir up alarm about crack cocaine in 1986, called it "intensely addictive, a drug whose potential for social disruption and individual tragedy is comparable only to heroin." Three paragraphs later, the magazine cited a Los Angeles detective who "readily compares [crack] to heroin."

Having established crack as heroin's equal, *Newsweek* immediately announced that in fact it was worse. "While a typical heroin addict shoots up once or twice a day," the article said, "crack addicts need another hit within minutes." In the same issue, the magazine's editor-in-chief declared crack "the newest, purest and most addictive commodity now on the market." *Newsweek* also quoted the psychopharmacologist Arnold Washton, who claimed, "Crack is the most addictive drug known to man," causing "almost instantaneous addiction."

Although cocaine, whether snorted or smoked, was never as powerful as its press implied, that did not stop it from becoming a new touchstone of addictiveness. So when President Clinton wanted to scare the public about methamphetamine, he warned that the drug could become "the crack of the '90s." Less than two years later, with just a couple years to go in the decade, drug czar Barry McCaffrey was reassuring the public that methamphetamine would not become "the crack cocaine of the '90s," thanks to "drug education programs."

But for a while there, methamphetamine was "the most malignant, addictive drug known to mankind," as a physician told *The New York Times*. A federal prosecutor declared it "more addictive than crack." The head of the Drug Enforcement Administration, officially charged with *discouraging* drug use, said the meth high "is about 10 times more pleasurable than any other sensual experience."

> Methamphetamine's power was validated by reference to crack, while crack's power was validated by reference to heroin.

U.S. News & World Report began a story by describing a Phoenix beautician for whom "the seductive allure of methamphetamine took hold almost immediately." As she put it, "The first line I ever did, I thought, 'My God, this is it. This is the answer to all the world's problems.'...It's the ultimate high. You're like Wonder Woman. It makes you feel so powerful. You have tons of energy. You feel like you can do anything. I loved it. I craved it. It was total euphoria." As if to make up for this breathless advertising, *U.S. News* quickly added that "methamphetamine turned her euphoria into a free-fall nightmare"—"as it almost always does."

This image of an instantly, inevitably addicting drug was familiar to anyone who had followed the news media's crack coverage. But while crack was said to be especially addictive because the high was so brief, meth was said to be even more dangerous because the high lasted so long.

Methamphetamine's power was validated by reference to crack, while crack's power was validated by reference to heroin. Crack was said to be just as addictive as heroin, if not more so. Meth was like crack, only worse. And throughout this period, public health officials and anti-smoking activists were emphasizing that nicotine was "more addictive than heroin." So even as heroin served as a model for addictiveness, its reputed power was implicitly downgraded.

More recently, however, heroin has been making a comeback in the press. In 2001, under the headline "Deadly Lure," the New Orleans *Times-Picayune* warned that heroin is "more addictive than crack cocaine." ■

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› five categories of narcotic users, including "people who use narcotics regularly but who develop little or no tolerance for them and do not suffer withdrawal symptoms." They explained that "such people are usually able to work regularly and productively. They value the relaxation and the 'kick' obtained from the drug, but their fear of needing more and more of the drug to get the same kick causes them to impose rigorous controls on themselves."

The example offered by Zinberg and Lewis was a 47-year-old physician with a successful practice who had been injecting morphine four times a day, except weekends, for 12 years. He experienced modest discomfort on Saturdays and Sundays, when he abstained, but he stuck to his schedule and did not raise his dose except on occasions when he was especially busy or tense. Zinberg and Lewis' account suggests that morphine's main function for him was stress relief: "Somewhat facetiously, when describing his intolerance of people making emotional demands on him, he said that he took 1 shot for his patients, 1 for his mistress, 1 for his family and 1 to sleep. He expressed no guilt about his drug taking, and made it clear that he had no intention of stopping."

Zinberg eventually interviewed 61 controlled opiate users. His criteria excluded both dabblers (the largest group of people who have used heroin) and daily users. One subject was a 41-year-old carpenter who had used heroin on weekends for a decade. Married 16 years, he lived with his wife and three children in a middle-class suburb. Another was a 27-year-old college student studying special education. He had used heroin two or three times a month for three years, then once a week for a year. The controlled users said they liked "the 'rush' (glow or warmth), the sense of distance from their problems, and the tranquilizing powers of the drug." Opiate use was generally seen as a social activity, and it was often combined with other forms of recreation. Summing up the lessons he learned from his research, Zinberg emphasized the importance of self-imposed rules dictating when, where, and with whom the drug would be used. More broadly, he concluded that "set and setting"—expectations and environment—play crucial roles in shaping a drug user's experience.

Other researchers have reported similar findings. After interviewing 12 occasional heroin users in the early 1970s, a Harvard researcher concluded that "it seems possible for young people from a number of different backgrounds, family patterns, and educational abilities to use heroin occasionally without becoming addicted." The subjects typically took heroin with one or more friends, and the most frequently reported benefit was relaxation. One subject, a 23-year-old graduate student, said it was "like taking a vacation from yourself....When things get to you, it's a way of getting away without getting away." These occasional users were unanimous in rejecting addiction as inconsistent with their self-images. A 1983 British study of 51 opiate users likewise found that distaste for the junkie lifestyle was an important deterrent to excessive use.

While these studies show that controlled opiate use is possible, the 1974 Vietnam veterans study gives us some idea of how common it is. "Only one-quarter of those who used heroin in the last two years used it daily at all," the researchers reported. Likewise, only a quarter said they had felt dependent, and only a quarter said heroin use had interfered with their lives. Regular heroin use (more than once a week for more than a month) was associated with a significant increase in "social adjustment problems," but occasional use was not.

Many of these occasional users had been addicted in Vietnam, so they knew what it was like. Paradoxically, a drug's attractiveness, whether experienced directly or observed secondhand, can reinforce the user's determination to remain in control. (Presumably, that is the theory behind all the propaganda warning how wonderful certain drug experiences are, except that the aim of those messages is to stop people from experimenting at all.) A neuroscientist in his late 20s who smoked heroin a couple of times told me it was "nothing dramatic, just the feeling that everything was OK for about six hours, and I wasn't really motivated to do anything." Having observed several friends who were addicted to heroin at one time or another, he understood that the experience could be seductive, but "that kind of seduction...kind of repulsed me. That was exactly the kind of thing that I was trying to avoid in my life."

Similarly, a horticulturist in his 40s who first snorted heroin in the mid-1980s said, "It was too nice." As he described it, "you're sort of not awake and you're not asleep, and you feel sort of like a baby in the cradle, with no worries, just floating in a comfortable cocoon. That's an interesting place to be if you don't have anything else to do. That's Sunday-afternoon-on-the-couch material." He did have other things to do, and after that first experience he used heroin only "once in a blue moon." But he managed to incorporate the regular use of another opiate, morphine pills, into a busy, productive life. For years he had been taking them once a week, as a way of unwinding and relieving the aches and pains from the hard manual labor required by his landscaping business. "We use it as a reward system," he

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said. "On a Friday, if we've been working really hard and we're sore and it's available, it's a reward. It's like, 'We've worked hard today. We've earned our money, we paid our bills, but we're sore, so let's do this. It's medicine.'"

Better Homes & Gardens

Evelyn Schwartz learned to use heroin in a similar way: as a complement to rest and relaxation rather than a means of suppressing unpleasant emotions. A social worker in her 50s, she injected heroin every day for years but was using it intermittently when I interviewed her a few years ago. Schwartz (a pseudonym) originally became addicted after leaving home at 14 because of conflict with her mother. "As I felt more and more alienated from my family, more and more alone, more and more depressed," she said, "I started to use [heroin] not in a recreational fashion but as a coping mechanism, to get rid of feelings, to feel OK....I was very unhappy...and just hopeless about life, and I was just trying to survive day by day for many years."

"Heroin is my drug of choice over alcohol or cocaine," said one user. "I take it at weekends in small doses, and do the gardening."

But after Schwartz found work that she loved and started feeling good about her life, she was able to use heroin in a different way. "I try not to use as a coping mechanism," she said. "I try very hard not to use when I'm miserable, because that's what gets me into trouble. It's set and setting. It's not the drug, because I can use this drug in a very controlled way, and I can also go out of control." To stay in control, "I try to use when I'm feeling good," such as on vacation with friends, listening to music, or before a walk on a beautiful spring day. "If I need to clean the house, I do a little heroin, and I can clean the house, and it just makes me feel so good."

Many people are shocked by the idea of using heroin so casually, which helps explain the controversy surrounding a 2001 BBC documentary that explored why people use drugs. "Heroin is my drug of choice over alcohol or cocaine," said one user interviewed for the program. "I take it at weekends in small doses, and do the gardening." It may be unconventional, but using heroin to enliven housework or gardening is surely wiser than using it to alleviate grief, dissatisfaction, or loneliness. It's when drugs are used for emotional management that a destructive habit is apt to develop.

It may be unconventional, but using heroin to enliven housework or gardening is surely wiser than using it to alleviate unhappiness.

Even daily opiate use is not necessarily inconsistent with a productive life. One famous example is the pioneering surgeon William Halsted, who led a brilliant career while secretly addicted to morphine. On a more modest level, Schwartz said that even during her years as a self-described junkie she always held a job, always paid the rent, and was able to conceal her drug use from people who would have been alarmed by it. "I was always one of the best secretaries at work, and no one ever knew, because I learned how to titrate my doses," she said. She would generally take three or four doses a day: when she got up in the morning, at lunchtime, when she came home from work, and perhaps before going to sleep. The doses she took during the day were small enough so that she could get her work done. "Aside from the fact that I was a junkie," she said, "I was raised to be a really good girl and do what I'm supposed to do, and I did."

Schwartz, a warm, smart, hard-working woman, is quite different from the heroin users portrayed by government propaganda. Even when she was taking heroin every day, her worst crime was shoplifting a raincoat for a job interview. "I never robbed," she said. "I never did anything like that. I never hurt a human being. I could never do that....I'm not going to hit anybody over the head....I went sick a lot as a consequence. When other junkies would commit crimes, get money, and tighten up, I would be sick. Everyone used to say: 'You're terrible at being a junkie.'" ▪

Jacob Sullum (jsullum@reason.com) is a senior editor at **reason**. *Reprinted from Saying Yes: In Defense of Drug Use, with permission of Jeremy P. Tarcher, a member of Penguin Group (USA), Inc ©2003 by Jacob Sullum*

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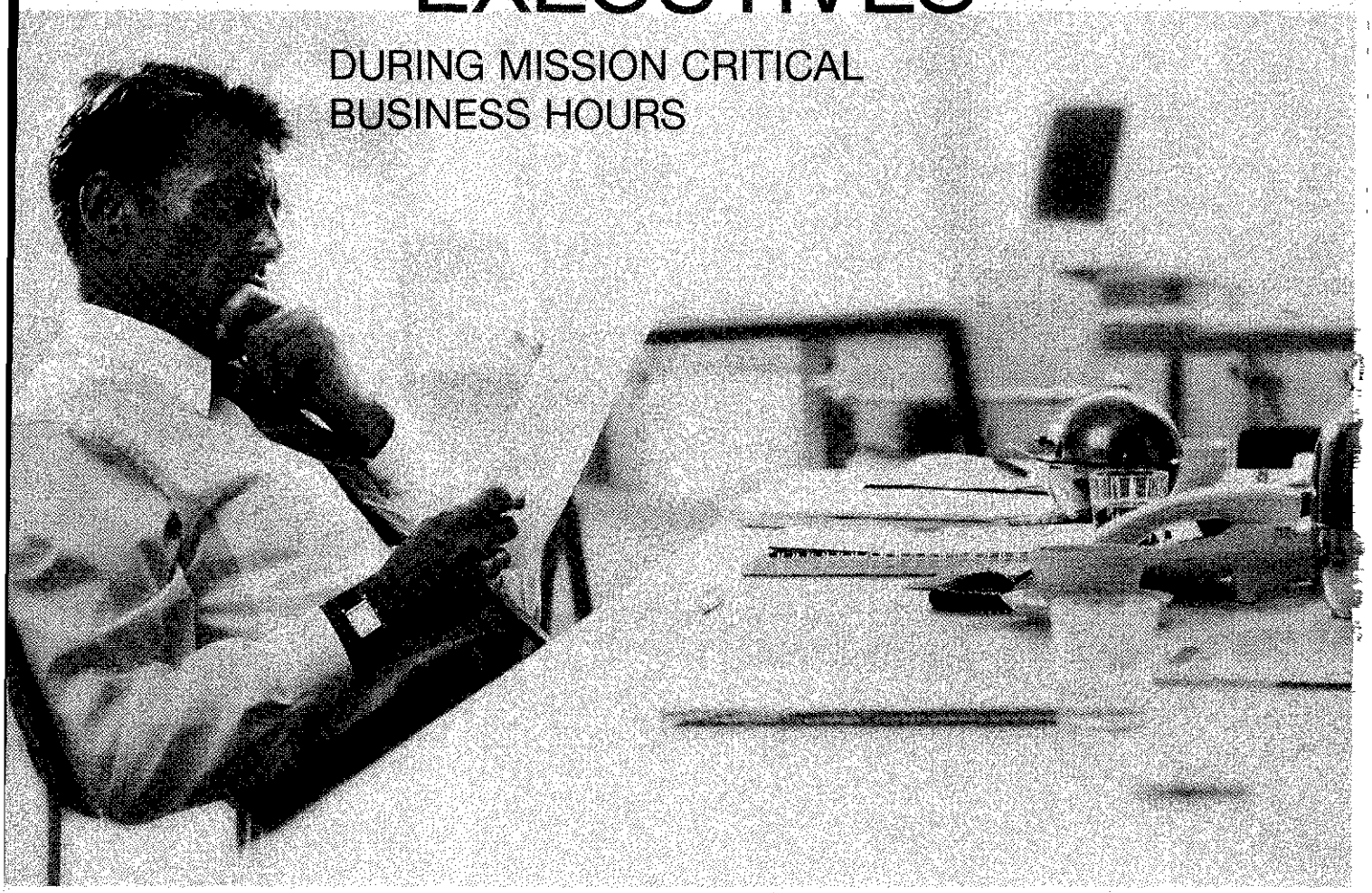

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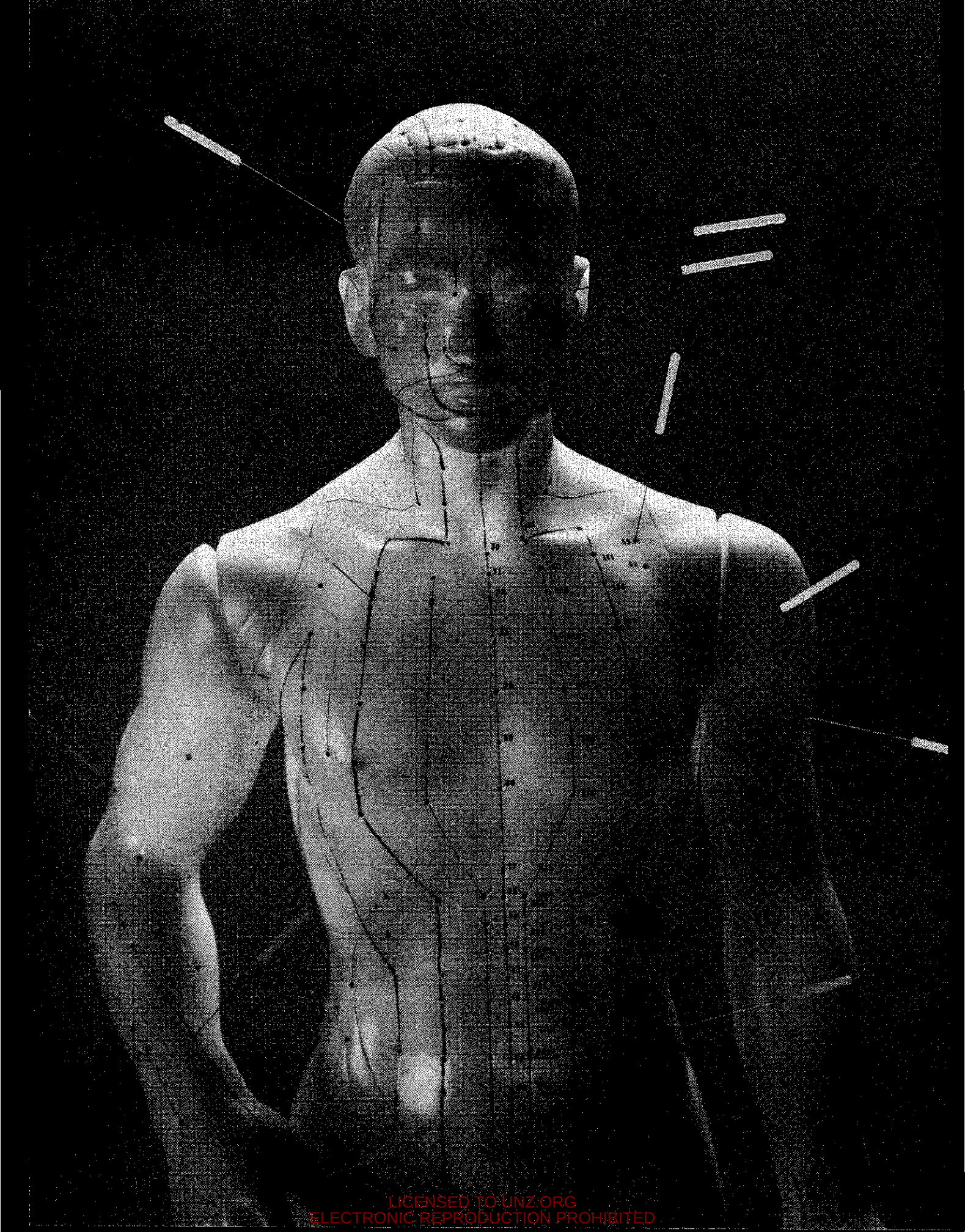

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Quacks and Flacks

The pitfalls of seeking a scientific foundation for alternative medicine

Chris Mooney

In 1979, shortly after the United States established diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China, a young Harvard Medical School student named David Eisenberg became the first American in decades to visit the country on a medical exchange program. As a Harvard undergraduate, Eisenberg had been fascinated by Chinese history and culture. Now he found the opportunity to learn about traditional Chinese medicine in Beijing exotic and intoxicating. In a sense, it was the logical next step after ransacking Harvard's libraries for information on Chinese medicine and studying under Harvard's John King Fairbank, known as "the dean of American Chinese scholars."

In China, Eisenberg not only enjoyed great massages, practiced Tai Chi, and became something of an ascetic; he also carefully studied the healing arts of acupuncture and Chinese herbal therapy. In the early 1980s, Eisenberg would return to the country with a group of Western doctors, including his Harvard colleague Herbert Benson, to examine scientifically "the most fundamental and baffling element of Chinese medicine—Qi, the concept of 'vital energy.'"

Thus began a medical career that, given the state of mainstream Western medicine at the time, might have seemed unimaginable or even impossible. Yet more than two decades later, Eisenberg is arguably the nation's premier academic doctor involved in the growing field of research into complementary and alternative medicine (CAM)—sometimes also called "integrative medicine." In 2001 Eisenberg was named director of Harvard's new multimillion-dollar Osher Institute for Research and Education in Complementary and Integrative Medical Therapies. At a time when CAM programs are proliferating at the nation's top medical schools, Eisenberg now heads the flagship academic research institute devoted to this area. If traditional and complementary and alternative medicine can truly become "integrated" in a university setting, then Eisenberg will be the person to do it.

With CAM's increased prominence at Harvard, however, has come controversy. Skeptics have been watching the medical school and its affiliated hospitals closely for any sign that unproven CAM techniques are being vouched for as scientifically valid or otherwise promoted to the public. They've found several. For example, InteliHealth—a subsidiary of Aetna that draws upon Harvard Medical School's expertise to provide online consumer medical information—was recently caught referring patients to practitioners of homeopathy (a water-based therapy whose key premise, that solutions become more powerful through dilution, violates fundamental laws of physics and chemistry). The offending content was quickly revised—and made much less promotional—by the Harvard faculty.

Far more contentious is a controversy involving Eisenberg's actions outside the context of Harvard Medical School. From 2000 to 2001, Eisenberg represented the Mas-

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sachusetts Department of Public Health on a state commission charged with examining whether naturopaths, a group of alternative healers, should be licensed by the state as legitimate health practitioners. Regardless of one's position on the licensure of caregivers in general, the commission's experience shines a light on how CAM may eventually be legitimated. The commission members clashed heatedly over their work, eventually producing rival reports in January 2002. Afterward, fellow doctors serving on the commission accused Eisenberg of behaving in an equivocating and unscientific manner. As one complained to Harvard Medical School Senior Dean Daniel Federman, Eisenberg was "notably silent when the other two physicians characterized naturopathic claims as baseless and dangerous."

Eisenberg responded to written questions for this article with a brief statement of medical principles, asserting for example that "members of the Harvard faculty involved with the [Osher Institute] are neither advocates for or against the use of complementary and integrative medical therapies. Rather, they are advocates for the rigorous scientific evaluation of these therapies." In the end, Eisenberg did not sign either of the commission's rival reports, pro or con. But a majority of members, including two CAM practitioners and the Department of Public Health's Nancy Ridley (who appeared in Eisenberg's stead as the process wound down), endorsed the licensure of naturopaths. None was an M.D.

Two doctors and one Massachusetts state representative, on the other hand, signed a scathing minority report that rebuked the majority for disregarding scientific evidence about the potential dangers of naturopathic medicine. Signatory Dr. Peter Madras, chairman of the Massachusetts Board of Registration in Medicine, says of the commission meetings, "We were back in a proceeding that must have emulated the Tennessee courthouse at the time of the Scopes trial." Dr. Arnold Relman, professor emeritus at Harvard Medical School and the editor for 14 years of *The New England Journal of Medicine*, resigned from the commission in protest and was replaced by Madras. "It was stacked against the M.D.s on that commission from the word go," he says. "And David Eisenberg would not stand with us."

The problem isn't just Eisenberg, though. Naturopaths aren't just any alternative healers. They are notoriously suspicious of childhood vaccinations; the group's founder, Benedict Lust, rejected the germ theory of disease; their view of cancer, heart attacks, and many other such conditions differs markedly from that of mainstream medicine. By empaneling a special state commission whose majority then recommended the licensure of this group, the state of Massachusetts itself has lent legitimacy to their practices in the public eye, and has done so in the very center of modern medical and biotechnology research that is Boston and its environs.

True Believer?

In Eisenberg's case, the tension between scientifically examining CAM and believing in it can be traced back at least as far as his 1985 medical travelogue *Encounters With Qi: Exploring Chinese Medicine*, written with Thomas Lee Wright. The book contains numerous passages in which Eisenberg analyzes traditional Chinese healing methods and argues that Western and Chinese doctors alike "share the responsibility of applying rigorous scientific methods to the study of these techniques."

Thanks in part to Eisenberg, this argument has triumphed in medical schools nationwide. It is widely accepted today that due to their ever-growing popularity—documented by Eisenberg in a much-cited 1993 *New England Journal of Medicine* survey—non-Western medical practices such as acupuncture,

The book *Encounters With Qi* abounds with startling accounts of mystical Chinese Qi Gong practitioners splitting marble blocks with their foreheads and allowing themselves to be run over by vehicles.

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Ayurvedic medicine (traditional medicine from India), and many herbal remedies must be evaluated according to scientific standards.

That effort is not merely required for patient safety. If nontraditional but medically sound healing techniques can be incorporated under the scientific umbrella, the result could be a broad improvement of medical care. As Eisenberg has put it, "My hope is that when five or 10 universities have sustainable infrastructure for research, education, and responsible patient care in this area, we will forget the terms *alternative* and *complementary* altogether and simply provide the best available medicine, based on the best available information."

This is certainly a worthy goal. Yet other passages in Eisenberg's book suggest a thinker who appears less inclined to analyze exotic techniques and claims critically. *Encounters With Qi* abounds with startling accounts of mystical Chinese Qi Gong practitioners splitting marble blocks with their foreheads, allowing themselves to be run over by vehicles, and, most astonishingly, engaging in "external Qi Gong"—a logical but radical extension of the basic philosophy of Chinese energy healing that supposedly allows for such paranormal feats as telepathy and psychokinesis (using the mind to move objects).

In one chapter of Eisenberg's book, young girls amazingly intuit the written content of sealed envelopes, leading Eisenberg to dub them "magical children." In several others, Qi Gong masters engage in Luke Skywalker feats such as moving objects and people without touching them. *Unexplainable* is the word Eisenberg uses to describe it all.

The likely truth is that Eisenberg was hoodwinked. His fellow Qi investigator Dr. Herbert Benson, who appears in *Encounters With Qi* and now directs Harvard's Mind/Body Medical Institute, says of external Qi Gong: "I've traveled to China to study this. I've seen nothing that defied physical laws." And since Eisenberg's writing, other skeptics, including the magician James Randi, have subjected various Chinese "psychic" children and Qi Gong masters to rigorous testing in controlled settings—whereupon their paranormal abilities have promptly vanished.

If Eisenberg was aware of this, it didn't stop him from traveling to China with Bill Moyers for his 1993 television series *Healing and the Mind*, which depicted the activities of Qi Gong masters with little warning that they may be mere manipulators. Psychologist Barry Beyerstein and Dr. Wallace Sampson, editor of *The Scientific Review of Alternative Medicine*, have written of Eisenberg's role in Moyers' series: "[He] continued to embrace the therapeutic effects of [traditional Chinese medicine] as enthusiastically as he had back in his student days when he accepted as real the kind of 'external Qi' that others have exposed as magic tricks."

Critical Defect

Will Eisenberg's complementary and alternative medicine program at Harvard succeed in setting research into exotic and nontraditional medical methods on a firm scientific foundation? There's certainly a great deal riding on the endeavor. Bernard Osher, a wealthy San Francisco philanthropist who co-founded Golden West Financial, gave Harvard a $10 million grant in the spring of 2001 to found Eisenberg's center.

"Integrative medicine's time has come," Osher proclaimed at a celebratory reception for the institute. Osher has created a similar program at the University of California–San Francisco; the two Osher centers now collaborate on conferences.

In one sense, Harvard's Osher Institute is just another in a long line of CAM programs at leading medical schools (including an earlier Eisenberg-run center at the Beth Israel Deaconess Medical Center, a Harvard teaching hospital). One of the oldest, Columbia University's Rosenthal Center for Complementary and Alternative Medicine, was established back in 1993; shortly afterward Dr. Andrew Weil founded the Program in Integrative Medicine at the University of Arizona. According to the Rosenthal Center, there are now well over 100 university courses, programs, and institutes in CAM. Yet Harvard's new Osher Institute is distinguished both by virtue of being at Harvard and by its generous funding.

Of course, no one will know which aspects of CAM really work and which don't unless medical schools help separate the wheat from the chaff. But already there are complaints about the research output from both the Osher Institute and Eisenberg's previous center (which was established in 1994). "They've now had a fair amount of money and a fair amount of time to get something done," says Relman, the former editor of *The New England Journal of Medicine*. "Most of what they publish is opinion and philosophy and

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speculation and surveys, and not much in the way of objective science."

Federman, Harvard Medical School's senior dean, has been charged with overseeing the growth of the university's CAM division. He admits little research has been conducted thus far at the Osher Institute but says that's mainly because things are still getting off the ground. Eisenberg himself, notes Federman, is not a doctor who's particularly well known for his background in clinical research. Rather, he's charged with a leadership role; research itself will be overseen by a board of senior medical scientists who will review proposals.

But when it comes to CAM, the difficulty of such a research agenda is that the subject excites extreme emotion from both skeptics and believers. In the relatively uncharted area of CAM research, the believers often wind up being the people designing the trials. "There are too few people in this field doing experiments without caring much how they come out," says Dr. Tom Delbanco, chief of the Division of General Medicine at the Beth Israel Deaconess Medical Center, who mentored Eisenberg and was a co-author of his famous 1993 *New England Journal of Medicine* paper. "Most of the people in the field are trying to prove something they believe in, rather than engaging in research with a truly open mind."

Some of Eisenberg's colleagues have expressed views that suggest a personal investment in CAM. One of his associates at the Osher Institute is an attorney and CAM legal expert named Michael H. Cohen, who attended meetings of the Massachusetts commission in Eisenberg's absence. Cohen's presence was controversial, with some panelists objecting to his appearing to represent the Department of Public Health despite his lack of a medical background. In an article on his personal Web site, Cohen decries a "delusional matrix of medico-legal reality" and argues that biomedicine—i.e., Western scientific medicine—"by and large perpetuates a delusional sense that a human being is only material." Cohen also criticizes biomedicine's "tendency to relegate valid, numinous encounters to the realm of psychological dysfunction or unprovable mysticism" and commends "near-death experiences" and "encounters with angels" for bringing humans closer to "that which is Supreme at the edge of consciousness."

Such arguments go far beyond a measured scientific approach to CAM in favor of a philosophical re-examination of the foundations of science itself. Cohen's writings demonstrate a hostility to conventional medicine and appeal to "other ways of knowing," both tendencies that Eisenberg himself warns against in his annual Harvard Medical School course, summarizing an article in *Academic Medicine* by the aforementioned Barry Beyerstein titled "Alternative Medicine and Common Errors of Reasoning." Eisenberg declines my request to address this seeming contradiction.

Another of Eisenberg's close associates at Harvard is Ted J. Kaptchuk, an acupuncturist and traditional Chinese medicine expert. Kaptchuk holds an overseas degree as a doctor of Oriental medicine. But according to a letter from Eisenberg to Dr. Carl Bartecchi of the University of Colorado Health Sciences Center, Kaptchuk is also a consultant for the Kan Herb Company, which sells a formula guide he created that includes such herbal products as "Women's Rhythm" and "Arouse Vigor." In other words, Kaptchuk has a financial stake in CAM. To his credit, Kaptchuk disclosed this fact in a recent article authored with Eisenberg for the *Annals of Internal Medicine*.

Healing Impaired

All of these tensions within Harvard's program—between belief and research, between expectation and investigation—seem to have exploded during the proceedings of the Massachusetts commission that weighed in on the legitimacy of naturopathy. Established by the legislature in 2000, the Special Commission on Complementary and Alternative Medical Practitioners was chaired by Bill Wood, director of the Massachusetts Division of Professional Licensure. The polarization, animosity, and accusations generated by the commission's work suggest how narrow a tightrope Harvard's new Osher Institute is trying to walk.

Despite its name, the commission ended up focusing on whether practitioners of naturopathy should be licensed in Massachusetts (as they are in 11 other states). Eisenberg represented the Massachusetts Department of Public Health on the commission; the other two medical doctors serving on the panel were the aforementioned Arnold Relman (representing the Massachusetts Board of Registration in Medicine) and Kimball Atwood, a Harvard Medical School graduate and

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anesthesiologist (representing the Massachusetts Medical Society).

Other members included six state legislators and the presidents of the Massachusetts Society of Naturopathic Physicians and the New England School of Acupuncture. When he resigned in protest, Relman objected that not enough time and attention had been devoted to the scientific aspects of the inquiry and that "there were several alternative medicine people on the commission who clearly had a terrible conflict [of interest]." He wanted to disassociate himself completely from the majority report recommending licensure.

Naturopathy, in the words of its proponents, is an alternative medical system based on "the interconnectedness and interdependence of all living things." To distinguish themselves from M.D.s, naturopathic physicians claim to seek out the "underlying causes" of disease, to prescribe "natural" remedies, and above all to view the body as an "integrated whole." Before his resignation, Relman decided to find out just what this meant in practice. So he spent several days plowing through the 1,600-page *Textbook of Natural Medicine*, produced by two naturopaths at Bastyr University, the nation's leading school of naturopathic medicine, founded in 1978 near Seattle.

The naturopathic textbook describes itself as setting forth "well-documented standards of practice for naturopathic medicine." But in a memo Relman submitted to the commission, he objected that it listed only 70 specific health conditions, as opposed to the hundreds listed in standard medical textbooks. Omissions included cancer, heart attacks, kidney diseases, malaria, syphilis, and encephalitis. For those conditions listed in the textbook, Relman concluded that the recommended treatments are "not likely to be effective" because they tend to eschew pharmaceuticals in favor of unproven "natural" remedies such as herbs, dietary supplements, and even the radical and "totally irrational" chelation therapy. When it comes to HIV/AIDS, for example, Relman wrote that the *Textbook of Natural Medicine* gives "no information about conventional drug therapy" while recommending various herbal and natural cures.

Naturopaths have also been known to distrust or oppose child immunizations. A 1999 survey of Massachusetts naturopaths found that just 20 percent thought parents should have their children vaccinated. And naturopaths aren't likely to pick up much information about standard scientific treatments in their training; many study for four years at a naturopathic college but aren't required to have any significant hospital or residency experience.

All of this might be less objectionable if naturopaths were simply secondary health care providers whom patients might occasionally visit. The National College of Naturopathic Medicine, however, describes itself as a group of "primary care physicians, most of whom are in general private practice [and] trained to be the doctor first seen by the patient for general healthcare, for advice on keeping healthy, and for the diagnosis and treatment of acute and chronic conditions." In other words, if naturopaths misdiagnose their patients the results could be catastrophic because those patients may not visit an M.D. at all. Relman concluded that "the anti-pharmaceutical bias of naturopathic education...poses real risks for patients who rely on naturopaths for the management of their illnesses. Without prompt and appropriate drug therapy many patients with serious diseases will die."

Relman submitted his analysis of naturopathy to the commission. The Massachusetts Medical Society's Atwood,

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for his part, produced a voluminous treatise on the subject whose abstract read, "This monograph demonstrates, unequivocally and with extensive documentation, that naturopathy is a dangerous activity, and that no amount of regulation is likely to mitigate this fact." His paper was also submitted. And that's where the process reached an unexpected impasse.

The majority report of the commission, recommending licensure, scarcely mentions Relman's and Atwood's strongly expressed health concerns, despite their medical qualifications. One reason for this, both claim, is that Eisenberg refused to either side with them or refute the science they presented, thus making it appear there was a division among doctors.

"He completely failed to ever open his mouth at one of these commission meetings, and say that he was essentially very worried that such practitioners should ever be licensed in Massachusetts," says Atwood. "He completely kept his mouth shut. In fact, it was worse. He was very deferential to [the naturopaths on or appearing before the commission], in almost an obsequious sort of way." Relman's replacement, Dr. Peter Madras, did not observe Eisenberg himself on the commission but agreed with Relman and Atwood about the general proceedings: "To my knowledge, nobody ever disclaimed what had been brought up as dangerous practice by naturopaths."

Eisenberg, through a Harvard Medical School spokesperson, declined to respond to the criticisms from Atwood and Relman. But the commission chairman, Bill Wood, did address some of their remarks. According to Wood, the commission's "mission and charter was not necessarily to do a full scientific review" of the safety and efficacy of naturopathy. Thus he says that while it's true that Atwood's and Relman's arguments were not really engaged or refuted, and that Eisenberg "was largely silent on scientific debate issues," that's mainly because "the commission just did not engage in scientific debate." Eisenberg was sometimes absent, and at those times, says Wood, CAM advocate Michael Cohen was "there as the eyes and ears of Dr. Eisenberg."

Wood goes further, describing the difficult middle road that Eisenberg has tried to walk between medical skepticism and the outright embrace of CAM. Eisenberg, Wood says, "was under great pressure from Dr. Atwood and Dr. Relman to join their side. He seemed to be uncomfortable with the pressure that was coming down on him. Because of his background in acupuncture and Oriental medicine, I think he had an open mind about the broad universe of practices out there...but he was also a skeptic, in that he would not endorse any practice that did not have a basis of scientific research to support it."

Eisenberg did not endorse the majority report. But according to Wood he did help with some of its language (as did Cohen). In particular, Wood says Eisenberg contributed to a section that seemed to address some of Relman's and Atwood's criticisms by listing several herbal remedies used by naturopaths that had shown signs of efficacy, including "gingko, saw palmetto, St. John's wort, horse chestnut, kava kava, and cranberry juice."

When the anti-licensure minority saw this language they were stunned. In an addendum to their report, they noted: "There is good evidence that St. John's wort interferes with crucial anti-HIV medicines in patients with AIDS. Yet the *Textbook of Natural Medicine*, without any supporting evidence, promotes St. John's wort as a treatment for AIDS. There is no way to know how

If promoters of the attempt to study complementary and alternative medicine in a rigorous scientific fashion truly want this movement to succeed, they're going to have to start not just by debunking nonsense but by telling us what they really think.

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many unsuspecting AIDS patients...have suffered relapses because of this recommendation." What does Eisenberg think about this topic? We can't be sure, because his brief written response for this article did not address a question concerning the majority report's treatment of St. John's wort and other herbs.

Open Minds, Closed Mouths

Wood, the commission's chairman, makes one further point: that Eisenberg may have been constrained in his ability to either side with or critically engage Relman and Atwood because he was the official representative of the Massachusetts Department of Public Health. This is a surprising assertion. After Atwood sent a lengthy letter to Dean Daniel Federman complaining about Eisenberg's and Cohen's role on the commission and the ways that Harvard Medical School was supporting CAM, then-Massachusetts Commissioner of Public Health Dr. Howard Koh responded in Eisenberg's defense. Eisenberg, wrote Koh, had been selected to represent the Department of Public Health "based on his high level of scientific and clinical expertise" in the field of complementary and alternative medicine. If Eisenberg was selected for his expertise, it seems odd he would be expected not to apply it.

In any case, the damage has been done, and the commission has created considerable bad blood. Since its close, Atwood has engaged in a fiery correspondence with Federman about the Harvard CAM program and Eisenberg. Atwood's most recent letter concluded: "Eventually this chapter in the history of [Harvard Medical School] will be remembered with chagrin. Please reconsider now."

In Atwood's analysis of Eisenberg's behavior, there's a simple explanation for what happened. In short, Atwood views the complementary and alternative medicine community as a fraternity and Eisenberg as a member—which makes him too close to various CAM practitioners and interests to be able to criticize them seriously.

If you go to Bastyr University's Web site, for example, it turns out that the two authors of *The Textbook of Natural Medicine*—Joseph E. Pizzorno Jr., N.D., and Michael T. Murray, N.D.—prominently display the text of a "presentation at Harvard Medical School" that they delivered in 1999 at one of Eisenberg's conferences. Atwood also notes that the brochure of a recent Harvard course taught by Eisenberg stated that it had been supported in part by an "unrestricted educational grant" from the Southwest College of Naturopathic Medicine. A Harvard Medical School representative said this referred not to actual funding but rather to continuing education credit provided by the naturopathic school for members who attended the course.

Atwood also notes that Eisenberg's work in the past has been significantly underwritten by the Fetzer Institute in Kalamazoo, Michigan. Founded by a late Detroit Tigers owner and fan of reincarnation, the institute exists to explore the connection between mind, body, and spirituality in healing. Fetzer initiatives also have included a program "for producing standardized credentialing" of alternative health care providers. One Fetzer study on CAM licensing cited "the continuing interest of alternative providers in securing professional practice rights" and concluded, "it seems likely that the legislative arena will experience intense pressure in the coming years to accommodate alternative modes of care. If new enactments are predicated on a patient-centered ideal that accords the individual substantial freedom to select a mode of personal care, the interests of health care in the United States would indeed seem well served." The pro-licensure report of the Massachusetts special commission reached a similar conclusion.

Perhaps Harvard's clinical research into CAM will eventually silence all critics. For the time being, however, it's hard to dispute that naturopathy qualifies as "alternative medicine" and is far outside the medical mainstream. And though he's had ample opportunity to state his position on this treatment—and enjoys the academic freedom to do so—it's impossible to tell whether David Eisenberg, as a doctor and scientist, believes it to be safe and effective. If promoters of the ongoing academic attempt to study complementary and alternative medicine in a rigorous scientific fashion truly want this movement to succeed, they're going to have to start not just by debunking nonsense but by telling us what they really think. ▯

Chris Mooney (moonecc@yahoo.com) is a contributing writer to The American Prospect magazine. His Web site is www.chrismooney.com.

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Look Who's Rocking the Casbah

The revolutionary implications of Arab music videos

Charles Paul Freund

One of the more interesting music videos released last year features an attractive brunette who, according to the video's narrative, is involved in a liaison taking place in a Paris hotel room. The visual narrative seems to offer the woman's often disconnected impressions of this apparently illicit relationship: Sometimes a man with a calculating smile is in the room with her; sometimes she's there alone, as if waiting for him. Naturally, the video is drenched in images of desire, especially the woman's erotic perceptions of the liaison and of herself.

For example, in one imagined sequence she isn't wearing much more than a skimpy bustier; in another she's lying suggestively prone, apparently thinking about the mysterious smiling man (who is seen in the background but not really present). Several times the camera invites the viewer to assume the role of the man, with the woman gazing at us with all the erotic intensity she can muster. As is usual in music videos, many shots feature the same woman in the role of singer, appearing onstage and performing the song we are hearing. But there are shots where she is both the singer and the character, including a curious shadowy sequence where several makeup women are busily applying powder to her exposed cleavage.

Eroticism like this, which seems to emerge from the pages of a Victoria's Secret catalog, isn't usually very noteworthy. Indeed, the video's assumption that there's something "forbidden" about its subject matter that must be approached in an "artistic" fashion may seem outdated. But in this case it is exactly such elements that make the production compelling. The reason is the video's cultural context: This is not an American or European or Japanese video; it is an Arab artifact. The woman is a singer named Elissa; her song, which has made her a leading celebrity in the Mideast, is entitled "Aychaylak" ("I Live for You"); and both her song and her video were among last year's biggest music hits in the Arabic-speaking world.

Elissa's video appears to establish a new extreme of what is visually permissible in Arab media; she herself has said that some of its sequences embarrassed her, though as the video was embraced by an enthusiastic audience she has also taken credit for what she calls her "daring."

While Elissa's imagery may be especially bold, the suggestiveness of her video is increasingly typical of what is happening in the contemporary Middle Eastern music scene. More and more Arab women singers are presenting themselves in provocative terms, as figures who express and assert themselves erotically through fashion, movement, expression, and voice. Nawal Zoghby, one of the region's biggest stars (she's been Pepsi's spokeswoman there), appeared in a hip-shaking video last year dressed in a tight and, by Mideastern standards, revealing leather outfit. She was backed up by a trio of black women singers in leather who were even more provocative. Suzanne Tamim offered a video (set partly in an American-style drive-in theater) in which she spent most of the running time striking a series of cheesecake poses in a tight outfit. This year's most notorious video thus far features a woman named Haifa Wehbe whom nobody in the region takes seriously as a singer at all. (She claims only to be an "entertainer.") The whole point of Wehbe's video is to show her danc-

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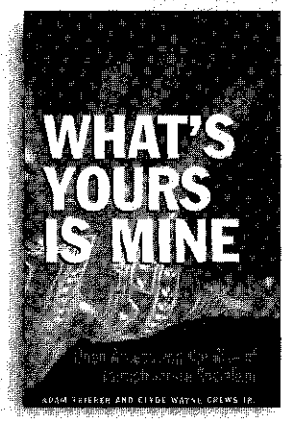

What's Yours Is Mine: Open Access and the Rise of Infrastructure Socialism

by Adam Thierer and Clyde Wayne Crews Jr.

Open access, the policy requiring that a company or industry share its network, facilities, or specific technologies with rivals, is now viewed by legislators and bureaucrats alike as the preferred method of regulation. Such a policy, however, imposes burdensome price and quality controls, ushers in litigation, and discourages genuine competition and innovation. This book explores how regimes that respect property rights—including the right to exclude rivals—better serve consumers and innovation. 140 pp./$12.95 paper
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ing in a rain-soaked outfit (inspired perhaps by the "wet sari" sequences of popular Bollywood movies) while staring into the camera with her sultriest expression.

Many of these women singers, it should be noted, are Christians, and their videos are set in an obviously secular context that is sometimes specifically Western. But this new world of Arab videos is a pan-Arab project. The recording label for all these acts, Rotana, is based in Dubai, the Gulf state with the region's most open economy. Rotana's acts can be seen throughout the Arab world but are showcased via ART-TV, a multiformat Arabic-language satellite service established by Saudi investors, based in Jordan, and with studios in Cairo, Beirut, and elsewhere in the region. Most of the video production houses are in Lebanon, and the videos' credits (often in English) reflect diverse crews of Muslim and Christian Arabs, along with a smattering of Turkish names. The most notable director of these videos is Said El-Marouk, a Muslim filmmaker based in Germany whose work stands out because of its scale, spectacle, and excess. (He's the Ken Russell of the genre.)

Muslim women singers are also starting to bring erotic provocation to traditional, even specifically Muslim, contexts. A singer named Samr, for example, has released a video in which she appears dressed as the bride in a traditional Mahgrebian wedding celebration, complete with intricately decorative henna. Although she is clothed modestly and moves with decorum, her song is about her happy anticipation of her wedding night. Samr winks repeatedly at the audience even as she adopts an expression of mock modesty, rolls her eyes happily, and invites the audience to share in her anticipation of pleasure. Given that a woman's enthusiasm for sex is often considered suspect by traditionalists, Samr's performance is astonishing.

In short, there is a revolution going on in popular Arabic music videos (known in the Mideast as "clips"), and it suggests a larger upheaval that may be taking place among their consumers. Although dramatic social and cultural changes are particularly visible in songs and videos by women, they involve the songs and performances of Arab men too. Sex may be the most immediately striking aspect of these productions, but it is the least important aspect of their revolutionary potential.

Sex may be the most immediately striking aspect of Arab music videos, but it is the least important aspect of their revolutionary potential.

After all, eroticism, even blatant eroticism, is not new in contemporary Arab culture; it is a well-known element of the region's feminist fiction and is used by such authors as Hanan Al-Shaykh and Nawal Saawadi. But avant-garde fiction like theirs tends to remain within a limited, sympathetic subculture. Arabic pop videos, on the other hand, are produced for pleasure (not to speak of profit) and consumed by an immense audience that can turn such works into political artifacts on a grand scale.

Indeed, it is the political implications of these videos that make them so interesting. What these videos offer their audience is an imagined world in which Arabs can shape and assert their identities in any way they

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please. The question is whether the videos are a leading cultural indicator of social and political change that enables Arabs to do the same in the real world.

The imagined Arabs in these often handsomely mounted productions stretch from the plausible to the fantastic: not only Arab femmes fatales in designer lingerie but cool Arab race car drivers, Arab cowboys, and Arab motorcyclists decked out in Harley-Davidson paraphernalia. There are Arab football players; Arab lovers driving a pickup truck through the American desert; Arab heroes of Gothic vampire melodramas being stalked by beautiful ghouls; veiled Arab women of the Islamic golden age; Arab couples searching for each other in a chromed, retro 1950s universe; Arabs haunted by mysterious desert symbols that hold the key to forgotten identities; medieval Arab countesses in their Spanish castles; and even science fiction Arabs confronted by mustachioed alien children from outer space.

Some of these subgenres, such as the Gothic and science fiction, have until now made little headway in Arabic popular culture, so the videos may even be stretching pop cultural boundaries. Their greater value, however, lies in their power to stretch the boundaries of their viewers' imagined selves.

Certainly one reason to take the videos seriously is the intensity with which their audience has embraced them. The first Arab TV show to showcase them in any important way was ART-TV's *Top* 20 (the title is in English), a weekly countdown program hosted by a young Beirut VJ named Nadeen Falah. Each show begins with a musical intro featuring an English-language rap theme song performed by a white American male. Falah, who is dressed and made up in a totally different style each week, reads fan mail, offers music biz gossip, and counts down the week's 20 biggest video hits.

The show has spawned numerous regional imitators, if not an entire alternate entertainment universe. No less than BBC's famous *Top of the Pops* is planning an Arabic-language version of its long-running format. There are whole 24-hour cable services, like Lebanon's Dream Machine, that program only pop videos. ART-TV itself has a separate all-music service that showcases pop stars in various interview and performance formats. When the United States, in the wake of September 11, wanted to grab the Arab world's attention and offer its interpretation of the news to the region, it didn't start a new information service; it established Radio Sawa. That service programs the pop hits visualized in these videos, burying a few minutes of news and commentary in each half-hour.

If you add the voluminous press and publicity machine that has grown around this scene, it begins to take on the proportions of a cultural frenzy. Such phenomena have a long and fascinating history; they occur when a cultural form becomes available to an audience that uses it to assert and validate its quickly shifting sense of itself. The Netherlands famously experienced such a phenomenon in the 17th century, when members of its suddenly enriched middle class latched onto paintings of themselves and their world as a way to express and validate their new social power. At the time, such subject matter was a departure for painters; indeed, it was the first time that anyone outside the aristocracy had owned paintings. The emerging British middle class of the 18th and 19th centuries went through a fiction-reading frenzy (of Grub Street "trash," mostly) as it sought models for its emerging social opportunities and identified with characters grappling with an industrializing, urbanizing world. Similarly, movies and rock music were powerful forms for different generations of 20th-century Americans. They used such forms to play with the new possibilities of identity that were coming within their grasp.

Can that be what is happening with Arabic videos? While they are entertaining and titillating viewers, they are also transmitting new ways of being to an apparently receptive audience, new and multiplying approaches to being an "Arab" that combine traditional forms of cultural self-presentation with forms borrowed from an array of other sources. The combinations that promise to emerge would not be mere copies of borrowed foreign models; they would be new and indigenous cultural creations, just as is the case in cultures around the world. This syncretism is already true of the music itself, which not only uses traditional Arabic

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instrumentation (nye, oud, qanoon, etc.) in new ways but also borrows instruments and rhythms from the Caribbean, Europe, India, rock, rap (including rap in Spanish), and numerous other sources.

What this low, "vulgar" genre is offering, in sum, is a glimpse of a latent Arab world that is both liberal and "modernized." Why? Because the foundation of cultural modernity is the freedom to achieve a self-fashioned and fluid identity, the freedom to imagine yourself on your own terms, and the videos offer a route to that process. By contrast, much of Arab culture remains a place of constricted, traditional, and narrowly defined identities, often subsumed in group identities that hinge on differences with, and antagonism toward, other groups.

For nearly a century, a series of utopian political systems has been advanced in the region to attempt to break this cycle of conflict and stagnation: Pan-Arabism, Ba'athism, Nasserism, Islamism, etc. These have all failed, sometimes disastrously. What may yet work in the region is what has worked elsewhere for centuries: commercialism that does not transmit a regime's utopian dreams but addresses the personal dreams of the audience.

If the audience for these videos uses them to foment a long-term cultural revolution, it would hardly be the first time that "vulgar" forms were at the center of significant social change. In fact, "low" culture has almost certainly done more to transform the modern world than has "high" culture. That is because, as communications professor Joli Jensen argues in the recent *Is Art Good For Us?*, it is the low, "expressive" forms of art that people use to engage with and understand the world around them, and not the high, "instrumental" cultural forms that are collected in museums because they are supposed to be good for a public in need of uplifting.

Cultural history is replete with examples of this process, despite critics' traditional focus on aesthetic achievement. The most influential Russian novel, for example, was written not by Tolstoy or Turgenev but by the forgotten journalist Nikolai Chernyshevsky. His wooden 19th-century tale, *What Is to Be Done?*, was one of a series of popular novels at the center of an intense late-czarist reading frenzy that accompanied liberalization, and the one that set the stage for the Leninist enterprise that was to follow. Tolstoy's own most influential work was not *War and Peace* but a populist spiritual tract entitled *The Kingdom of God Is Within You*. Its lesson of returning good for evil was to inspire Gandhi and, eventually, Martin Luther King. The most effective literary expressions of 18th-century British feminism were not the period's eloquent tracts but the "cheap" Gothic novels that dramatized virtue in distress. The modern American character was shaped far less by celebrated transcendentalist and realist

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works than by such yarns as Owen Wister's *The Virginian*, which offered a powerful model of quiet masculine strength. And mid-century Eastern Europeans living under communism who sought cultural expressions of personal liberty found them in jazz, jeans, rock music, and Hollywood.

Can such a model be applied to the Arab world? If Arab pop culture does indeed reflect latent Arab liberalism, it would be historically fitting. After all, modern puritanical Islamism emerged, in part, from a reaction to the West's supposed cultural degeneracy. Secular Arabs using their own cultural artifacts to assert personal liberty would only be striking back on a familiar front.

Islamism has spread through the region via a series of classic and modern works, and by far the most important of the 20th-century writers has been an Egyptian named Sayyid Qutb, who was executed by Nasser in 1966. The most important of Qutb's works is a tract titled *Signs Along the Path*.

The book argues that the modern world is imbued with the same moral evil that existed at the time of the prophet Mohammed. What is required today is a purifying global jihad. *Signs* is this jihad's manifesto, and Qutb is in many ways its intellectual architect. The jihad he sought must take place in both senses of the term: as an outer struggle against the unbelieving and sinful enemy, and as an inner, spiritual struggle. In short, life must be lived within Islamic strictures. For many, that has meant women once again in *hijab*; for some it has even meant the prohibition of secular music.

Qutb concluded that a return to Islam was necessary because he equated liberalization with moral corruption. This is especially apparent in the observations he made during a sojourn in the United States between 1948 and 1950. Americans, he decided, were crass and ignorant because they led secular lives. Qutb wrote an often-quoted letter home from Washington, D.C., that described a tattooed man seated near him in a coffee shop; the gaudy colors of the man's tattoo disgusted him, and symbolized the lack of taste and spirituality that pervaded American culture.

Qutb's most notorious reaction to American life was occasioned by, of all things, a church social in Greeley, Colorado, a community originally organized along utopian lines and one that had maintained a tradition of temperance and moral rigor. Qutb found it a black hole of degeneracy. He had been invited to a dance in Greeley's church basement, where the pastor was playing dance records for the congregation. At one point, the pastor lowered the lights and cued a 78-rpm version of the flirtatious but otherwise innocent tune, "Baby, It's Cold Outside," then popular because it had been used in a 1949 Esther Williams movie. Qutb was scandalized. "The dancing intensified," he wrote. "The hall swarmed with legs....Arms circled arms, lips met lips, chests met chests, and the atmosphere was full of love."

It is as a result of such encounters that Qutb's Islamism was to intensify. Oddly, the whole of the Western, liberalized world sometimes seems to have presented a sexual threat to Qutb, a threat that began aboard the ship that brought him to the U.S. There, a "drunken, semi-naked" woman knocked at his cabin door; he believed the woman could only have been sent to corrupt him by the CIA. It would be interesting to know just why women and sex represented threat and corruption to Qutb; there may be clues in his 1947 novel, *Thorns*, an autobiographical tale of romance and heartbreak, but the work is untranslated. In any event, two years after he returned from the U.S., Qutb joined Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood, the fountainhead of modern Islamism, and became its leading theorist.

Whatever the source of Qutb's concerns, it isn't hard to imagine his reaction to the sight of Elissa's substantial cleavage looming out of her bustier, never mind the idea of importing Gothic vampires, drive-in theaters, and mustachioed alien children invaders into the Arab imagination. Yet Elissa in her hotel room and Samr anticipating her wedding night could hardly be more apt responses to the Islamist moral constrictions that have been advanced, in part, as a result of Qutb's work. The Arab world will eventually achieve its long-delayed goal of liberalized modernity; it might just as well dance itself there. ▯

Charles Paul Freund (cpf@reason.com) is a **reason** *senior editor.*

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Teddy Roosevelt's Hidden Legacy

How an "imperialist" president's record makes the case for military restraint

Michael McMenamin

First Great Triumph: How Five Americans Made Their Country a World Power, by Warren Zimmermann, New York: Farrar Straus & Giroux, 576 pages, $30

In the early years of the 20th century, American troops were in the Philippines putting down a rebellion and U.S. warships were fighting terrorists in the Middle East while the glittering market of China was luring trade and investment from all the industrialized nations of the world. An unelected president born of East Coast privilege and called a "cowboy" by his detractors was sitting in the White House. The more things change...

Theodore Roosevelt and his foreign policy are worth re-examining today for many reasons, not the least of which is the high admiration held for him by George W. Bush and his chief political strategist, Karl Rove. Though regarded in some quarters as a hyper-interventionist, Roosevelt in fact was the opposite. For eight years he and his two able secretaries of state, John Hay and Elihu Root, conducted a prudent and restrained foreign policy designed to advance and protect American interests while minimizing actual conflict involving U.S. troops on foreign soil. Warren Zimmermann writes about those years in his engaging new book, *First Great Triumph*, which chronicles the critical 10-year period from the Spanish-American War to the end of Roosevelt's presidency.

The book's subtitle is *How Five Americans Made Their Country a World Power*. In addition to Roosevelt, Hay, and Root, they include the president's best friend, Henry Cabot Lodge, and Capt. Alfred T. Mahan. "These five were remarkable men by any measure," Zimmermann writes. "Two of them, Roosevelt and Root, won the Nobel Peace Prize. All were intellectuals and thought of themselves as such. All except Root were notable authors. Roosevelt wrote thirty-eight books, and Lodge twenty-seven, mostly on themes of American history....Hay was a poet, a best-selling novelist, and coauthor of a popular biography of Abraham Lincoln. Mahan produced an analysis of the influence of sea power in history that profoundly affected American policy and became required reading in the British, German, and Japanese navies. Root...one of the most talented corporate lawyers of his time, became...a forceful advocate of the rule of law in international relations....The five combined to set the course of American foreign policy for the century to come."

Zimmermann tells an interesting story about a fascinating time. As a career diplomat weaned on the Wilsonian diplomatic legacy, however, he tends to see an evolving continuum between the foreign policy Roosevelt initiated and that of Woodrow Wilson, Franklin Roosevelt, and our post–World War II presidents. "The progress toward global involvement was often hesitant and erratic, and Americans were pulled reluctantly into the two world wars," he writes. "But as we can see in the hindsight of a century, the direction was steady. The United States did involve itself, late but decisively, in both world conflicts, then led a Western alliance in successfully opposing the challenge from Soviet communism. It was in large part because of America's actions as a great power that the twentieth century was not the 'Century of the Third Reich' or the 'Century of the Glorious Victory of World Communism.'"

A good argument can be made, however, that the direction was *not* steady, and that American foreign policy in the 10 years after the first Roosevelt—especially the policy followed by Roosevelt's nemesis, Woodrow Wilson—played a major, albeit unintended, role in the births of both Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia.

No less than Winston Churchill suggested as much in 1936: "America should have minded her own business and stayed out of the World War. If you hadn't entered the war the Allies would have made peace with Germany in the spring of 1917. Had we made peace then there would have been no collapse in Russia followed by Communism, no breakdown in Italy followed by Fascism, and Germany would not have signed the Versailles Treaty, which has enthroned Nazism in Germany. If America had stayed out of the war, all of these 'isms' wouldn't today be sweeping the continent and breaking down parliamentary government, and if England had made peace early in 1917, it would have saved over one million British, French, American and other lives."

Zimmermann unconvincingly claims, however, that Wilson practiced a "classic Rooseveltian diplomacy," continuing what his predecessor started, as though Roosevelt were John the Baptist to the idealistic, Christ-like Wilson. "In his book *Diplomacy*, Henry Kissinger draws a

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sharp distinction between Theodore Roosevelt, the sphere of influence realist, and Wilson, the crusading idealist, and contends Wilson had the more enduring legacy," Zimmermann notes. "But surely the contrast is exaggerated, and Roosevelt's effect underrated....Their legacy to the twentieth century was a joint one."

It is clear that Zimmermann admires much of Roosevelt's foreign policy, and that by tying it, however improbably, to Wilson's legacy, he means to bestow a compliment. Roosevelt, however, would find such a linkage odious.

If Zimmermann is correct that Wilson's foreign policy was actually "classic Rooseveltian diplomacy," you can begin to understand the recent intemperate attack on Roosevelt by the libertarian Cato Institute. The November-December 2002 issue of *Cato Policy Report* featured a cover story, "T.R.: No Friend of the Constitution," by the institute's editorial director, Michael Chapman.

Like Zimmermann, Chapman believes Roosevelt was an imperialist, and many of his criticisms center on that charge. But Roosevelt didn't pursue an imperial foreign policy, and he certainly didn't live up to his earlier (and well-deserved) cowboy reputation. As Louis Auchincloss observes in his short 2001 biography *Theodore Roosevelt*, "he never advocated an empire for the United States such as Britain, France, Portugal, Holland, and Germany conceived for themselves....T.R. never wished to keep Cuba or the Philippines; in each case he favored occupation to last only until the islands were ready for independence. The naval bases that he wanted—Hawaii, Guam, Cuba, Panama, and Puerto Rico—were not the bastions of empire but the necessary fueling spots for the warships that guaranteed the security of his country as preached by his mentor, Admiral Mahan." Indeed, in the 1912 presidential campaign Roosevelt supported Philippine independence. His two opponents, Taft and Wilson, did not.

Chapman does not appreciate this distinction, in part because Roosevelt's impulsive statements and actions before his presidency offer such an inviting target. This is, after all, a man who could write in a letter in 1895 that the "greatest boon" he could confer upon America was "an immediate war with Great Britain for the conquest of Canada." Once he was president, however, Roosevelt's policies produced eight years of peace with other countries. His diplomacy resolved a string of foreign crises and earned a Nobel Peace Prize in 1905, followed in 1912 by one for Elihu Root. His "speak softly, carry a big stick" metaphor has been oft repeated, but what Roosevelt said was more complex: "If a man continually blusters, if he lacks civility, a big stick will not save him from trouble but neither will speaking softly avail, if back of the softness there does not lie strength, power."

Roosevelt's foreign policy wasn't perfect, but compared to that of Wilson and many other 20th-century presidents, it was highly effective. At various times, Roosevelt had the Russian czar, the German kaiser, and the hypersensitive Japanese eating out of his hand, however reluctantly. Consider the following:

- In December 1902 Britain and Germany blockaded, shelled, and were prepared to occupy five Venezuelan ports in order to collect debts. Assisted by a timely threat to the German ambassador of the dispatch of U.S. warships then in Puerto Rico, Roosevelt persuaded the British and Germans to submit their dispute to international arbitration, with the U.S. serving as the mediator.
- In 1903 the Dominican Republic found itself in a similar situation, with Germany again threatening force. Again Roosevelt persuaded the interested countries—France,

God Only Knows

The conflicting demands of wartime prayers

John Tierney

You gotta feel a little sorry for God these days. The hotline from the White House has been hopping off the heavenly hook, the pope has been urging his flock to "persevere in unceasing prayer"; cries of "Allahu Akbar" echo from the streets of Gaza to those of Baghdad. And, this just in, In Touch Ministries distributed a booklet to U.S. soldiers in Iraq urging them to pray for—George W. Bush. One suggested prayer: "Pray that the president and his advisers will seek God and his wisdom daily and not rely on their own understanding."

Being omnipotent, God has no problem fielding all these calls. He can probably even take time out to mediate a dispute in the Louisiana legislature over whether painting a giant U.S. flag with "God Bless America" in 37-foot-tall letters on the roof of the New Orleans Superdome would cut the value of the naming rights to the stadium. Still, even He must be experiencing a bit of cognitive dissonance.

President Bush, of course, »

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- **C** **Bruno Bettelheim:** *Man's Identity in a Mass Society* (48 min.)
- **D** **Salvador DeMadariaga:** *The Myth of Disarmament* (24 min.)
- **E** **W. H. Auden:** *The Poetry of W. H. Auden* (59 min.)
- **F** **Carlos Castaneda:** *Don Juan: The Sorcerer* (38 min.)
- **G** **General Douglas MacArthur:** *Duty, Honor, Country* (35 min.)
- **H** **Jacques Barzun:** *Present-Day Thoughts on the Quality of Life* (31 min.)
- **I** **Erich Fromm:** *To Have or to Be: The Nature of the Psyche* (56 min.)
- **J** **Albert Schweitzer:** *On Goethe (trans. by Thorton Wilder)* (80 min.)
- **K** **Buckminster Fuller:** *Twentieth-Century Renaissance* (55 min.)
- **L** **Jacob Bronowski:** *The Ascent of Man* (55 min.)
- **M** **Alan Watts:** *Zen: (The Eternal Now)* (47 min.)
- **N** **Viktor E. Frankl:** *What Is Meant by Meaning* (33 min.)
- **O** **G. Wilson Knight:** *Shakespeare and the English Language* (30 min.)
- **P** **Robert Lowell:** *Reads and Discusses His Poetry* (28 min.)
- **Q** **William Manchester:** *The Glory and the Dream* (55 min.)
- **R** **Groucho Marx:** *Fast Mind, Faster Mouth* (60 min.)
- **S** **Edwin Newman:** *Decline and Fall of American Language* (55 min.)
- **T** **William Morris:** *Dictionary of Word and Phrase Origins* (55 min.)
- **U** **George W. Kisker:** *Programmed Relaxation* (25 min.)
- **V** **Milton Friedman:** *The Role of Government in Our Society* (58 min.)
- **W** **Upton Sinclair:** *A Pen to Change America* (40 min.)
- **X** **Stephen Spender:** *T.S. Eliot and George Orwell* (41 min.)
- **Y** **Otto Bettman:** *The Good Old Days: They Were Terrible* (55 min.)
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Germany, and Belgium—to accept a similar procedure.

• Based directly on those experiences, Roosevelt told Congress in 1904 that the U.S. would intervene under similar circumstances. But as Zimmermann writes, the "Roosevelt Corollary" to the Monroe Doctrine "was born of a specific need and hedged with limiting words like 'chronic,' 'ultimately,' 'flagrant,' and 'reluctantly.' Roosevelt took pains to disclaim aggressive intent: 'It cannot be too often and too emphatically asserted that the United States has not the slightest desire for territorial aggrandizement at the expense of any of its southern neighbors, and will not treat the Monroe Doctrine as an excuse for such aggrandizement on its part.'"

Cato's Chapman inaccurately portrays the Roosevelt Corollary as "Manifest Destiny on an international scale," wrongly claiming that the president had thereby announced, "It was America's duty...to bring the backward nations into the fold of democracy and Protestantism, by force if necessary." In fact, three years later—as a direct consequence of the Venezuelan and Dominican incidents, and on the initiative of Argentina with U.S. support—the Hague Conference of 1907 banned the use of force to collect debts, thus formally incorporating into international law the arbitration that Roosevelt had persuaded the British, Germans, and French to agree to earlier.

• Having inherited the occupation of Cuba from his predecessor, William McKinley, Roosevelt pulled all American troops out in 1902, leaving behind both an elected representative democracy and America-supplied public works. Troops returned in 1906 at the Cuban government's

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request, in the face of a rebellion by the losing party in a recent election. Roosevelt pulled the troops out again two years later, leaving behind even more public works, schools, and hospitals than the U.S. had placed there in its earlier occupation.

• Chapman complains that "as president, Roosevelt tried to get Colombia to sign a treaty on the construction of the Panama Canal (Panama was then a province of Colombia). The Colombian government said no, and a group of Panamanians, with U.S. help, declared themselves a republic. T.R. sent gunboats to protect the new 'nation,' and shortly thereafter construction of the canal began."

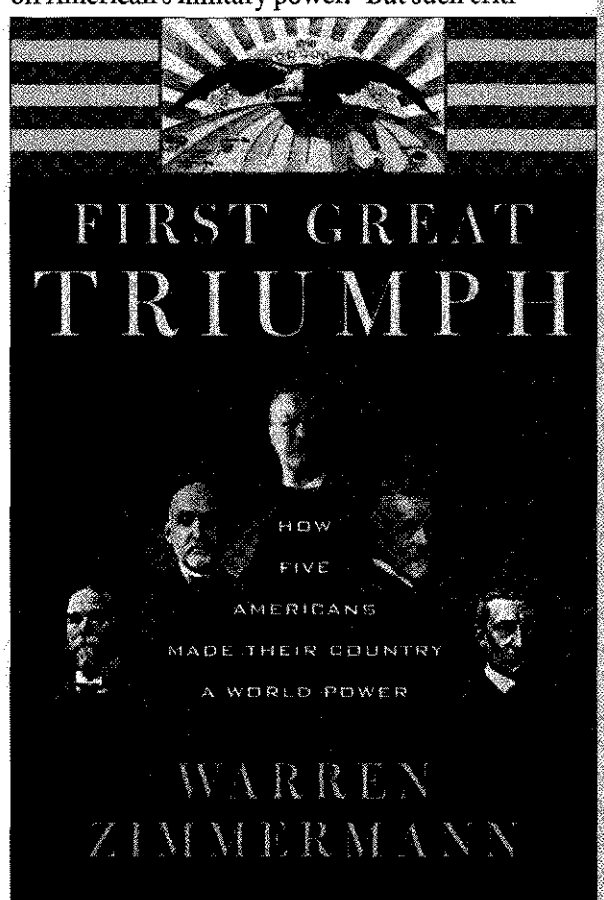
Not exactly. The Colombian president actually signed the treaty, but its Senate refused to ratify. The U.S. already had a treaty with Colombia, signed in 1846, giving it free transit across the isthmus "upon any modes of communication that now exist, or that may hereafter be constructed"—which, at the time, was a railroad designed, built, operated, and protected by Americans. Armed revolts in Panama against distant Colombian rule had been common during the previous 50 years. Although it is true that America had helped put down 13 such revolts in the past, there was nothing in the treaty that obliged it to do so.

In the face of the Panamanian revolt in 1903 over the possibility that the canal would now go to Nicaragua, the U.S. landed 50 Marines at Colon to guard the railroad from any disruption during the rebellion. There was no conflict or confrontation between Colombian and American forces, and rebel bribes to the commander of the Colombian garrison in Panama City played a larger role in the revolt's success than the Marines did.

• In 1905, through skillful personal diplomacy, Roosevelt negotiated a peace in the protracted and bloody Russo-Japanese War. "The Portsmouth negotiation was a masterpiece of classical diplomacy," Zimmermann writes. "As a mediator and negotiator Roosevelt was informed, focused, understanding, sympathetic, firm when he had to be, trustworthy, and decisive."

• France and Germany almost went to war over Morocco in 1905. The kaiser, having admired Roosevelt's skill in handling his cousin the czar, asked Roosevelt to mediate between the two great powers. While not becoming personally involved in face-to-face negotiations as he had with the Russians and Japanese, Roosevelt authorized American mediation and was intimately involved in the details of the eventual resolution.

• Chapman criticizes Roosevelt's decision to dispatch all 16 U.S. battleships—the Great White Fleet—on a tour around the world in 1907, arguing that the display happened "largely to show off American's military power." But such criti-



frequently invoked God's blessing on our incursion into Iraq. (The president's close friend, Commerce Secretary Don Evans, says "Bush believes he was called by God to lead the nation at this time.") But even as the president broadcast his invasion message, there came a televised Saddam Hussein assuring his nation that "God's victory will be ours soon." Saddam added a message from the Almighty that had apparently sneaked by U.S. signal blockers: "God has ordered you...to cut their throats."

Meanwhile, a taped message from Osama bin Laden noted that he was "following anxiously the preparations of the crusaders to conquer the former capital of Islam and steal their wealth," and called upon the Muslim world "to fight for the sake of God, not for nationalism or any infidel regime, including Iraq."

Of course, the ways of God are not the ways of man. And while the divine injunction "Thou shalt not kill" seems straightforward, religious scholars point to numerous Old Testament texts to demonstrate that, as one Christian pastor wrote recently in *The Columbus Dispatch*, "God loves and protects the innocent and the weak. He often does so by declaring war on tyrants and oppressors."

That being so, surely the mandate of heaven was conferred on the White House in its chosen war. That does not mean, however, that the president and his most ardent »

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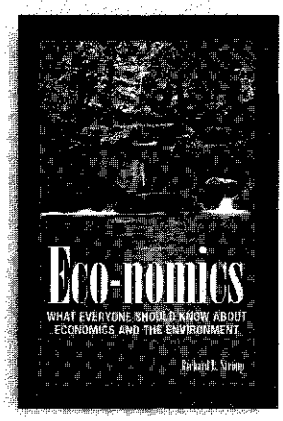

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cism is superficial. Roosevelt wasn't "showing off." Rather, he was sending a direct message to the Japanese that the U.S. battle fleet, entirely concentrated in the Atlantic, could be transferred intact as a fighting force from one ocean to the other if the need arose, something Roosevelt knew the British and Germans (and presumably the Japanese as well) did not believe possible.

His reason for doing this was a diplomatic crisis earlier that year occasioned by the San Francisco Board of Education's decision to segregate Japanese schoolchildren. Roosevelt persuaded the school board to back down, but the crisis flared anew that summer when anti-immigration riots broke out in San Francisco and immigrant Japanese workers were beaten by mobs.

This unrest led opposition leaders in Japan to call for war. Privately, Roosevelt was advised that Japan's war party really believed it could prevail in a fight with the U.S. Moving the fleet from the Atlantic around Cape Horn to San Francisco was done at the recommendation of Adm. George Dewey. The world tour was not announced until after the fleet had reached San Francisco and the message to the Japanese war party had been delivered.

You can't even begin to compare this record to Woodrow Wilson's, though Zimmermann tries. "As president Wilson practiced a classic Rooseveltian diplomacy," he writes, "seeking to remove threats close to American shores and to protect the sea routes to the Panama Canal, which opened for business in his first term. In 1914 he unsuccessfully sought Senate approval for a U.S. protectorate over Nicaragua that was designed to protect an alternate canal route from foreign incursions. Out of fear that Germany would exploit Haiti's endemic violence in order to gain control of sea access to Panama, Wilson landed troops in 1915, and Haiti became an American protectorate for nineteen years. A year later American marines occupied the Dominican Republic and installed a U.S. dictatorship that lasted for eight years. Wilson also intervened repeatedly in Mexico."

There are ways to characterize Wilson's foreign policy, but it is more than a stretch to suggest it was "classical Rooseveltian diplomacy." Roosevelt's former Secretary of State Elihu Root certainly didn't see it that way. As a senator from New York during Wilson's first term, he actively opposed the president's interventionist foreign policy in Latin America.

Wilson's foreign policy is one long litany of failure and incompetence. There was his interventionist Latin American policy, in which force was used at the slightest provocation. There were his unsuccessful efforts in 1915 and 1916 to mediate a peace among the Great Powers. There was his postwar failure to achieve a just peace in the Treaty of Versailles, and his refusal to accommodate reasonable amendments to that treaty in the U.S. Senate.

These sometimes terrible flubs were due largely, if not entirely, to Wilson's rigid personality and outsized ego. An otherwise sympathetic Auchincloss suggests in his short book *Woodrow Wilson* (2000) that strokes in 1896 and 1906 "may have had a permanent after effect in intensifying [Wilson's] natural irritability and stubbornness." Elsewhere Auchincloss writes of Wilson as a "self-assured idealist

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who could hardly conceive, much less admit, that he could be wrong in judging matters that he deemed within his peculiar sphere of expertise....This Wilson, with God and his angels presumably ranked behind him, tended to regard opposition as malicious betrayal."

Wilson had more human flaws, however, than "natural irritability and stubbornness." Marital infidelity was one of them, and he was not nearly as discreet or as compartmentalized as his philandering successors Warren Harding, Franklin Roosevelt, John F. Kennedy, Lyndon Johnson, and Bill Clinton. He was prone to write long, gushy love letters to women not his wife, and once in love he found it difficult to focus on his work.

A good argument can be made that American foreign policy played a major, albeit unintended, role in the births of both Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia.

Such infidelity can change the course of history. Zimmermann does not make much of it, but John Hay had an affair that may well have influenced history in more ways than one, including the eventual American rejection of the Treaty of Versailles. This is because the cuckolded husband in Hay's affair was none other than Roosevelt's best friend, Sen. Henry Cabot Lodge. Zimmermann writes: "A wellborn Bostonian, daughter of a rear admiral, Nannie [Lodge] must have seemed to Hay everything [Hay's wife] Clara was not. She was pretty and witty, small and slim with dark hair and eyes extolled by [the painter John Singer] Sargent as 'unforgettable blue.' So sharp was she of intellect that her vain husband depended on her to edit his speeches. John and Nannie fell in love and went to great lengths to arrange trysts that would not provoke gossip."

Was the affair a secret? Not really. Gossip wasn't invented in the 20th century. Lizzie Cameron, wife of Sen. J. Donald Cameron (R-Penn.), wrote to Henry Adams that "everyone" in Cleveland except Hay's wife knew about it. Given the prominent roles Ohioans played in Washington in the last 20 years of the 19th century, it is fairly certain they didn't keep it to themselves when they returned to Washington. In 1896 Lodge recommended Hay as secretary of state. In 1900 he recommended that Root replace the incumbent Hay. Zimmermann timidly suggests that "perhaps Lodge had found out about Hay's affair with his wife."

But *surely if Lodge ever learned of the affair,* he would have done more than simply propose Root to replace Hay, who was widely known to be in poor health. Ask yourself: If you were the most powerful senator in foreign relations and you knew the secretary of state had been engaged in a long-term affair with your beautiful and brilliant young wife, what would you do? Well, for starters, wouldn't you flyspeck every treaty the man negotiated and, consistent with your principles of course, make the secretary jump though every hoop your fertile mind could manage to devise?

This is, in fact, what Lodge did to virtually every treaty Hay negotiated, to a far greater extent than he ever did with Hays' successor Root. A detailed comparative analysis of how Lodge handled the treaties negotiated by both men is a subject worthy of serious study by scholars interested in testing the hypothesis.

What does this have to do with Wilson's infidelities? In 1915 Wilson fell "passionately in love" with the woman who was to become his second wife barely seven months after his first wife died. Auchincloss suggests the romance contributed to Lodge's low opinion of Wilson because Lodge "had suffered the sad loss of his

supporters call upon heaven with one voice. For instance, the animosity to Saddam shared by evangelical Christians and Jews might seem odd, given that Jews, along with Catholics and blacks, were once frequent targets of the more irredentist denizens of the Bible Belt. But the route to their reconciliation runs through Israel. As the portentous millennium approached, evangelical thoughts turned to the long-awaited Second Coming of Christ and thence to Armageddon.

There, says the Book of Revelations, armies of East and West, enticed by Satan, will *march together to Jerusalem,* where they will do joint battle with the returning Christ. What happens next is open to many interpretations, especially about who gets "raptured" (i.e., raised bodily into heaven) and when (before or after the time of "tribulations"). But a generally agreed upon precursor is that the Jewish people be back in control of Israel before the action begins.

Despite this shared interest in Israel's protection, a point of contention remains: Will anyone but Christians have a shot at being raptured? Evangelicals have in recent years assured Jews that they will not be automatically excluded. According to the World of the Bible group, Christians "will join with redeemed Israelites in the true worship of God." Says one Pretribulationist writer, "What lies ahead of [Jews] is seven years of tribulation, out of which he »

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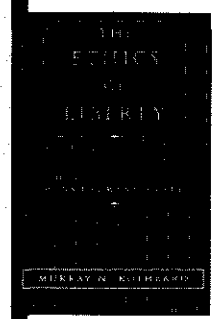

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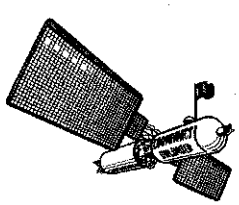

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own lovely spouse, to whom he had been so happily wed for forty-four years, just two months before, and his private remarks about Wilson's quick recovery from a much demonstrated grief were not complimentary."

There was more. Wilson's enemies in the summer of 1915 all knew of his adulterous affair in 1910 with Mary Peck, to whom he had written a series of more than 200 embarrassingly soppy love letters. These she had carefully saved. Thereafter, Wilson kept in contact with her and paid her money, $7,500 in total, to buy her silence.

And while the story of Wilson's affair with Mary Peck is unquestionably true, there were even uglier rumors circulating in Washington that summer, worthy of a Bill Clinton. As Gene Smith writes in his 1964 book *When the Cheering Stopped: The Last Years of Woodrow Wilson*, "stories about the Presidential romance began flying around. And what was being said in Washington in the fall of 1915 was that the President and this Galt woman had conspired long ago to get Ellen Wilson out of the way so that they could marry, and that the loyal Dr. Grayson had poisoned the First Lady. It was also said she died after a beating at the President's hands.... Rumor had it that so taken with Edith Galt was he that official business was utterly ignored and stacks of neglected matters were piled high on his desk."

The neglect, at least, was more than rumor. It was fact, confirmed by Wilson's closest confidante, Col. Edward House, who wrote in his diary, "It seems the President is wholly absorbed in this love affair and is neglecting practically everything else." So while war raged in Europe, hormones raged in the widowed president, his work was neglected, and wild rumors flew through D.C. that he had conspired to kill his wife. Small wonder that Wilson's diplomacy in 1915 failed miserably to bring an end to a year-old conflict where the worst was still to come.

Perhaps Henry Cabot Lodge didn't need more reasons to hate Woodrow Wilson, but if you posit Lodge's knowledge of his wife's infidelity and combine it with her recent death, plus the rumors, true and false, about Wilson's infidelities, you begin to understand that there might have been something more than principle behind the loathing and contempt Lodge had for the president. Auchincloss offers a glimpse into the intensity of Lodge's feelings about Wilson during the war: "One day at [Henry] Adams's table...Lodge launched out on a particularly violent denunciation of his adversary in the White House. As the story has it, Adams finally struck the board with his whitened and trembling fist. 'Cabot, I've never allowed treasonable conversation at this table, and I don't propose to allow it now.' The two men were, of course, soon reconciled, but it was clear that Adams felt that the time of irresponsible partisanship had passed."

Would Lodge still have opposed a Versailles Treaty that superseded the Constitution and committed the U.S. to use force against its will to preserve the territorial integrity of members of the League of Nations without a vote of Congress? Certainly. But could he have tried sooner and worked harder to reach common ground with his Democratic colleagues over the treaty—especially the League of Nations, which he did not oppose in

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principle? He very well could have. And it wouldn't have taken that many defecting Democrats to ratify the modest GOP "reservations" that would have seen the U.S. join the League of Nations.

Drafted by Elihu Root, a key reservation would have made clear that the U.S. assumed no obligation in any given situation to "preserve the territorial integrity...of any country" unless the Congress were to specifically "by joint resolution so provide." With that reservation (which Britain and France would have accepted), Lodge and the Republicans would have voted to ratify the Treaty and the U.S. would have been in the League of Nations. Whether our presence in the League would ultimately have made a difference in keeping the peace in Europe and Asia is questionable, but in the event, Wilson refused to agree.

Individuals can change history. How they treat and interact with others is important. Unlike Wilson, Roosevelt was an excellent judge of human nature able to successfully negotiate with absolute rulers like the czar and the kaiser on the one hand and the ever-sensitive Japanese on the other. Considering all the accomplishments of his eight years as president, it is interesting to speculate whether there could have been a negotiated peace in the early years of World War I had Roosevelt been elected in 1912. He wouldn't have had a fool like William Jennings Bryan as secretary of state in 1914 or a vain, rigid, and stubborn president dispatching an honorary Texas "colonel" as his emissary to Europe while he wooed his new love. Instead, we would have had skilled, effective diplomacy from Elihu Root, orchestrated by a president who knew what he was doing. And with the assistance of Henry Cabot Lodge, the U.S. Senate could well have been behind him.

Could Roosevelt have successfully brought both sides to their senses? Auchincloss offers a tantalizing hint of what might have been: "There had always been a basic distrust behind T.R.'s occasional admiration of the Kaiser. He had been flattered in 1910 by the latter's taking him on military maneuvers in Germany, a privilege not usually accorded to aliens, but from the beginning of their relationship he had deplored the Kaiser's rashness and excitability, so different from the cool reflectiveness behind his own seeming bluster. Henry Adams saw this, and when Lodge told him the British thought that Roosevelt was under the Kaiser's spell, he exclaimed: 'For heaven's sake let them think so! The President's influence with the Kaiser is one of the strongest weapons we have in a really perilous condition. We know he understands the Kaiser, and that is enough.'" (In the event, Roosevelt's initial neutrality eventually gave way to sympathy with the Allies.)

Contrary to Zimmermann, Roosevelt was no Wilson when it came to foreign policy—and contrary to Chapman, he did not believe it was America's "Manifest Destiny" to establish a "New Imperialism" throughout the world by force. Roosevelt is a much better foreign policy role model than, say, Wilson or Clinton, who used military force indiscriminately and left the world a more dangerous place than the one they inherited.

With that understanding, it is welcome news that Bush and Rove regard Roosevelt as a hero. We can only hope that they recognize the genuine foreign policy differences between Roosevelt and Wilson—and that they remember what happened after the messianic Wilson mounted his white horse and charged off to make the world safe for democracy. ◧

Contributing Editor Michael McMenamin (mmcmenamin @walterhav.com) is a lawyer in Cleveland.

will bring a Jewish remnant." Whatddya mean *redeemed*? And what's a *remnant*? God only knows.

Nor are all members of the coalition in tune with the we-don't-blame-Islam White House line. "Islam as a whole is evil," said the Rev. Franklin Graham—a speaker at Bush's inauguration—at a National Prayer Service in November. Most evangelical Web opinion agrees with one writer's view that "despite the U.S. administration's desire to separate [it] from the tactic of terrorism, the religion of Islam is the common denominator for all the groups with which we are at war." Meanwhile, various Bible Web sites retain lengthy sections on the apostasies of Rome. "The Catholic Church has all too often been at the center of the 1,400-year-old struggle between Islam and Christianity," avers one critic.

If these doctrinal disputes weren't enough to clog the celestial pipelines, across the country Christian, Muslim, Jewish, and Hindu religious leaders gathered to pray for, of all things, *peace*. Back to you, God. ◧

Jodie T. Allen is a managing editor at U.S. News & World Report

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Studied Stupidity

Respect to *Da Ali G Show*

Jacob Sullum

"Yo," says the host, a wannabe rapper named Ali G who wears a tracksuit accessorized with wraparound sunglasses, a Tommy Hilfiger skullcap, and massive amounts of gold jewelry. "Science. What is it all about? Technology. What is *that* all about? Is it good or is it wack?" Thus begins a panel discussion featuring two futurologists, an environmentalist, and a creationist.

Ali G, who speaks a puzzling patois of British slang, hip-hopisms, and Caribbean creole, gets things rolling by describing a friend with a Web site who "ain't got no technology." Later it emerges that Ali G thinks a computer would be stumped if asked to multiply really big numbers and that he considers the human fondness for bananas evidence of evolution. When one of the futurologists says in passing, "We're *Homo sapiens*," Ali G objects: "Hey, I ain't. I don't do that stuff." Even when the discussion veers into accusations concerning the floater someone left in the toilet backstage, with the creationist adamantly disclaiming responsibility, no one has the temerity to suggest that Ali G cannot be for real.

This sort of studied stupidity is the essence of *Da Ali G Show*, the new HBO series created by the British comedian Sacha Baron Cohen. Cohen, who also portrays Borat, a TV host from Kazakhstan, and Bruno, an Austrian fashion reporter, specializes in pushing people's credulousness, politeness, and patience to the limit. Sometimes the results make you squirm, as when the awkward, wildly inappropriate Borat talks about sex and flatulence at a Sons of the American Revolution dinner, punishing his affable hosts for their hospitality. More often, Cohen uses his talents to discomfit people who deserve it, deflating the pretentious and humbling the arrogant.

As Bruno, Cohen gets a fashion designer to contradict himself over and over again without batting an eye, going along with diametrically opposed interpretations of his work. When a spokesman for the Drug Enforcement Administration says marijuana can cost up to $1,000 an ounce, Ali G tells him he got ripped off and offers to set him up with a less expensive supplier. "What is legal?" Ali G asks former Attorney General Richard Thornburgh. After a brief disquisition on the topic, Ali G has a follow-up: "What is illegal?" Thornburgh does his best with that but is unprepared for the third query: "What is barely legal?" The surreal exchange ends with Ali G recommending a movie that might elucidate the matter.

The genius of Cohen's approach is that he accomplishes more as a moron than he could as a smartass, lampooning the vacuity of talking head TV and startling his guests into dropping their sound bites. Comedy Central's *Daily Show* (the only newscast I regularly watch) often attempts something similar, with correspondents asking deliberately inane or off-the-wall questions, but the interviewees are rarely famous and their typical response is a blank stare. Cohen strings his guests along much further than *The Daily Show* usually does, and he has managed to arrange interviews with an impressive list of public figures, including former Attorney General Ed Meese (who performs a rap), former National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft (who says we'd never nuke Canada because "we don't want what they have"), former CIA Director James Woolsey (who tries to clear up Ali G's confusion between John F. Kennedy and J.R. Ewing), and Kofi Annan's predecessor at the U.N., whom Ali G overenthusiastically introduces as "Boutros Boutros Boutros Boutros-Ghali" and asks, "Which is da funniest language?"

In another memorable exchange, Ali G presses former astronaut Buzz Aldrin—who last year punched an overly aggressive conspiracy theorist who asked him to swear on a Bible that the lunar landings were not faked—for a response to the well-known rumors about the Apollo program. Just as you're wondering whether Aldrin will take another swing, Ali G asks the question on everyone's mind: Does the moon exist?

Ali G's guests can't really win. If they calmly endure his dumb questions and stubborn incomprehension they may end up looking silly, and if they show their irritation they risk coming across as jerks. Still, the ways different people respond to the challenge can be revealing.

Former Surgeon General C. Everett Koop is condescending throughout his interview, making no effort to conceal his contempt for this buffoon who thinks the penis is a bone and who wonders what it would be like to have a mobile phone surgically implanted in his chest. "You're stupid," Koop says. "You just don't know what you're talking about." For those of us who've always thought America's Family Doctor was a pompous ass, this exchange is a special treat.

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By contrast, *Inside the Actors Studio* host James Lipton handles himself surprisingly well. He does not go along with everything Ali G says (he firmly objects to the term *ho*, for example), but he's a good sport. After rejecting a rap that Ali G has composed for him, he writes and performs one of his own. It turns out he's a better rapper than his host—which isn't saying much.

Ralph Nader, too, does better than you might expect. When Ali G argues that "you'd have to be absolutely *mental*" to live in the rainforest, what with "all these monkeys ploppin' on your 'ead," Nader replies, "First of all, the monkeys aren't eager to search out these natives and plop on them." In response to Ali G's suggestion that people's "natural gases" could be harnessed as a source of energy, Nader says, "Well, you already have tens of millions of cattle, but they haven't figured out how to put a box on their asshole." Despite this adroit performance, according to *Newsweek*, "Nader's people were so furious after Ali G got him to rap during an interview that one aide reportedly said it might be grounds for a lawsuit"—presumably for intentional infliction of rhythmic distress.

Since *Da Ali G Show* hinges on attracting guests who have never heard of Ali G, it may not last long. Cohen got to be so well-known in Britain that he had to bring his act to the U.S. The upside is that there's little chance the show will be spoiled by good ratings, coasting along after its peak. The more successful Cohen is, the sooner he'll have to stop. ■

Jacob Sullum (jsullum@reason.com) is a senior editor at reason.

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The Pull of Culture

Charles Paul Freund

© Artists in Cellophane

YES, THAT'S A cigarette machine, or at least it was. The goods it currently vends aren't packs of butts; they're works of art. Each is about the size of a Lucky Strike package, and you buy it by inserting your coins and yanking on the machine.

This is an Art*o*mat®. The first one was born, appropriately, in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, the 1997 creation of artist Clark Whittington. There are now more than 40 scattered across the country (this one's in Massachusetts) dispensing photos, paintings, sculpture, assemblages, and other "artpacks" in various retail settings. Art*o*mat's sponsoring organization, Artists in Cellophane, says the effort "combines the worlds of art and commerce." The group "wants to make art approachable" and asks, "What better way to do this, than with a heavy cold steel machine?"

Good question. The machines manage to combine tobacco nostalgia with retro design (many Art*o*mats come from landfills), and there's nothing like an obsolete machine to reveal how design humanizes technology within a period's values. The effect only increases with outlawed machines, because the old "humanizing" values are forbidden. Art*o*mats make their art approachable by literally commodifying it. Caution: This could become habit forming.

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The Dilemma of Reforming a Post-Saddam Iraq

Russell Berman, Stephen Haber, and Barry R. Weingast are senior fellows at the Hoover Institution.

Two crucial debates underlie America's present situation in the Middle East. The first concerns whether the United States can graft a democratic system on an authoritarian regime such as Iraq's, a state that has no history of democratic rule. The second debate involves the sources of differences between the West—the societies of Western Europe and North America—and other cultures around the globe.

To understand how Western political and economic systems might be transplanted into a post-Saddam Iraq, we need to understand what is "Western" about our culture, politics, and economics. Those three aspects were not only developed in tandem but mutually support one another.

The West's first distinctive characteristic is its culture of literacy and individuality. Written records undercut oral myths, established factual accuracy, and allowed authors to adopt critical positions that challenged received opinion. Over several centuries, this gave rise to a culture whereby individual integrity trumped the conformism of community doctrine. This legacy of literacy and critical thinking became linked to a Judeo-Christian religious sensibility. The result is a culture that emphasizes the sanctity of life, the value of the individual, and redemption through historical progress.

The West's second distinctive characteristic is its political institutions. Those institutions take three forms: electoral suffrage, federalism, and checks and balances. Those forms operate jointly to limit the authority of government and thereby reduce the stakes of politics. They also work to limit corruption and rent seeking (a person or group seeking to obtain special political favors at the expense of others). Those institutions accomplish these goals either by creating ex ante vetoes that limit their leaders' discretion (for example, presidents must obtain congressional approval before acting on new policy proposals) or by creating ex post sanctions on leaders who exceed their authority (by being voted out of office).

The West's third characteristic is its system of economic institutions that support markets. Markets exist in other parts of the world, but only in the West do political institutions enforce property rights with such uniformity. Indeed, in most developing societies political officials prey on markets and private property. In many nations, administrators enforce some individuals' property rights but not others—giving rise to cartels and thereby precluding competitive markets.

The combination of a culture of individualism, institutions of limited government, and free market economies has succeeded in unleashing human creativity, producing wealth, and raising people out of poverty.

As beneficial as it would be to reproduce these conditions in Iraq, we should not underestimate the difficulties that lie ahead. More than a change of regime will be required. **Establishing democratic capitalism will involve a profound transformation of cultural values, governmental institutions, and economic behavior.** This is a worthy goal, but it will require a long-term commitment.

Too often, new democracies in former authoritarian regimes fail because they lack one or more of the three critical characteristics that distinguish the West. Establishing a stable democratic-capitalist system in a post-Saddam Iraq will require both political and economic reform, as well as encouraging the virtues of a free society among Iraqis.

— Russell Berman, Stephen Haber, and Barry R. Weingast

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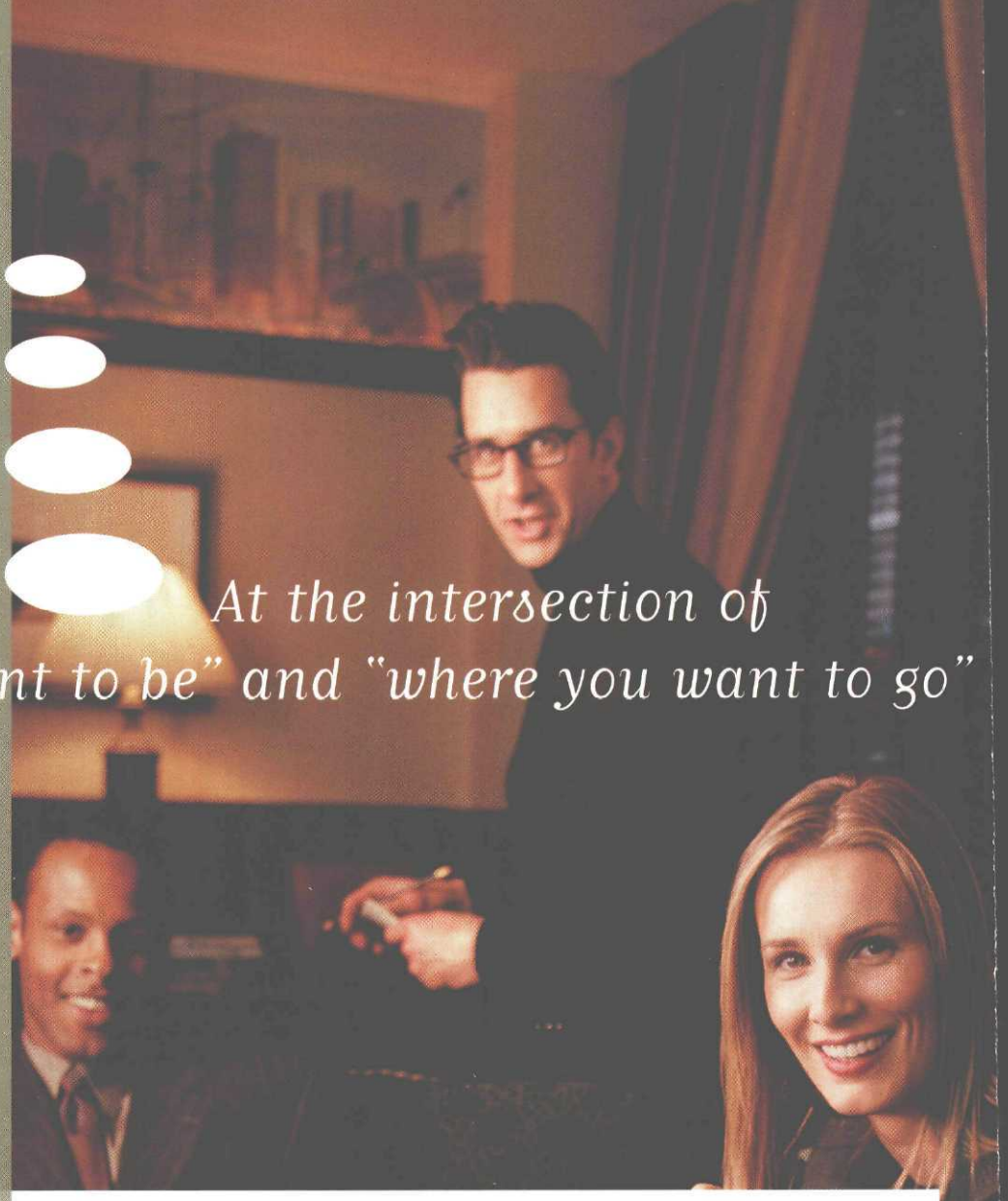

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